

Root extension and root formation in Semitic and Afrasian

There are many understudied and even unnoticed cases of root extension, including a very common phenomenon of triconsonantization, and fossilized formants in Semitic, to say nothing of other Afrasian branches. Investigating this delicate field involves much risk of arbitrary conclusions (of which Ehr OTC is a salient example). To reduce the risk, I chose to adhere to the following principles in singling out and classifying these cases:

(1) A consonantal element (I intentionally leave aside the problem of an accompanying vocalic element) in Semitic and other Afrasian is classified as a "triconsonantizer" on the ground of comparison of a triconsonantal root containing this element with a synonymous or semantically compatible biconsonantal root without this element in the same or related language(s); a special, less verifiable case is that of two or more triconsonantal roots containing different presumed triconsonantizers in the absence of a corresponding biconsonantal base (I treat roots whose second and third radicals are identical as essentially biconsonantal) root attested in any of the related languages (thus "attested" in the reconstructed form only). Though a triconsonantal root may show certain meaning difference from its biconsonantal match, a triconsonantizer has no semantic value of its own and does not cause any regular meaning shift. Formally, any consonant may be classified as a triconsonantizer in a broader sense, if it meets the above conditions. However, I prefer to classify as triconsonantizers in Semitic and, most probably, other Afrasian languages only the following consonants: *w*, *y*, *ʔ* (and, with hesitations, much less common *t*, *ʕ* and *h*). All of them occur in the An-, In- and Auslaut position.

(2) A consonantal element may be classified as a fossilized formant (or a class marker?) on the ground of comparison of the root containing this element with another root in the same or related language(s), lacking the element in question, provided the additional relational (grammatical) or derivational (lexical) meaning brought about by the affixation of this element is ascertained by a series of such comparisons; the reliability of this classification is in direct proportion to a number of series presented and a transparency and regularity of the meaning shift caused by the affixation. Part, but not all, of the hypothetical fossilized formants is represented by the same consonants that otherwise function as productive or commonly recognized affixes in Semitic and some other Afrasian languages. The potential fossilized formants (still in the process of being revealed and confirmed by more data) are at present as follows: *m*, *n*, *t*, *r*, *l*, *ʔ*, *h*, *b* and *k* (as for *h*, a presumed suffix denoting body-parts, v. Takacs). Theoretically, any consonant can prove to be a fossilized formant, but I doubt the above list may be considerably expanded). Usually fossilized formants occur in the An- and Auslaut position, but sometimes also in the Inlaut, which in some cases may be a result of a secondary metathesis caused by their low compatibility or full incompatibility with the primary base root's consonants.

(3) "Root extenders" (RE) is a conventional name that may be given to consonantal elements which are singled out in the same way as the two above types but for this or that reason cannot be

classified with any of them. Some of such elements formally coincide with "triconsonantizers" (w, y, ʔ, ʕ, h and t), but serve to extend not biconsonantal but tri- or more consonantal roots; for others no relational or derivational meaning can be demonstrated so far; finally, there are cases when an "added" consonantal element cannot be classified as a regular affix for the only reason that the regular affix serves to derive *deverbal* nouns while its homonym in question is used to derive a *denominal* noun, e.g.: Arb. *minḥar*- 'narine, nez' (not a deverbal noun <*nḥr 'to snore' attested in Akk. and Gez. but not in Arb.) vs. *nuḥrat*-, *nuḥarat*- 'nostril' or Arb. Dat. *maḥbalah* 'uterus' (at first glance may be taken for a deverbal noun of place, but no corresponding verb is attested in Arb.; rather to be understood as 'a place for foetus') vs. Arb. *ḥabal*- 'foetus'.

Since numerous cases of triconsonatization in Semitic are more obvious, better studied and pose no grave problem, the data to follow consist of examples of root extension (tentatively included are also certain cases of the "weak" consonants extending biconsonantal roots but which, for this or that reason, I prefer not to treat as triconsonantizers). Among them, only a few cases of infixation and suffixation of *r* seem to show a certain semantic regularity suggesting that *r* might be regarded as a fossilized formant or class marker imparting the meaning 'large, many/much'. Hopefully, further accumulation of data and their deeper analysis may expand the opportunities of reclassifying some of the "root extenders" into fossilized formants. It would not be realistic, however, to expect too much from this direction of research. The vast majority of root extension instances may ever remain unexplained otherwise than by analogy, or contamination, but this is a far more difficult task as every case of contamination will require a student an "individual approach", i. e. the revealing of a concrete form, the "contaminant", that once served a sample for the analogy. Another problem deserving a future study is what consonants falling into the category of RE occur as productive affixes in any of the Afrasian languages and whether their function in this capacity may throw light on a semantic value of the same consonantal elements assumed to be RE in the same or other Afrasian languages.

One more question, of a purely theoretical nature not to be discussed here, is whether root extension may be regarded as a phenomenon of a secondary "root formation". As far as I understand, an "orthodox" viewpoint of a comparative linguist - strongly asserted, for instance, by such an unquestionable authority as Aharon Dolgopolsky - is that such a phenomenon does not exist at all except for few exotic cases like proper names becoming appellatives (e. g. *gas*).

Some of the RE proposed below have been touched upon in several earlier studies (see references under corresponding headings) but usually briefly and with no sufficient examples supported by convincing etymologies, which is an indispensable precondition of a serious study in these and similar matters. The most daring attempt to reveal traces of root extenders in Semitic and treat them as relics of class markers was made by N. V. Yushmanov (Yush 170-181); though this attempt can hardly be viewed as successful for the same reason of limiting the argumentation to Arabic chiefly, I would not, however, rule out a possibility of future discoveries in the direction outlined by his theory taking into consideration Yushmanov's intuition of a genius. Worth mentioning is also CHVAL (and HCVA, its slightly updated English version) where many more consonants than in the present contribution are treated as "compliments" without ascribing them

any specific meanings; though, by definition, etymologies/comparative data were adduced, after 20-25 years that have passed since publication of the three issues of this collective study headed by Igor Diakonoff and which the present author was part of, some of the comparisons seem far-fetched or even outright wrong, while others are worth consideration if not for lack of references, a lamentable fashion with Afrasian linguistics.

Before turning to the examples of supposed root extension, I would like to stress that the present study does not claim to be anything more than an empirical collection of etymology-based data, hopefully to be helpful for a more systematic and explicit analysis in perspective. Since the data had to be arranged according to some principle -- and a certain order of languages, quite formal though, was chosen (see below) -- other principles of their structuring had to be ignored, hence an inevitable heterogeneity and lack of order in many aspects. Thus, the difference between nominal and verbal roots is not taken into consideration, i.e. examples of both types of roots are quoted indiscretely (verbal roots occur in the Anatomy and Varia sections). The same is true of adducing RE on a par with what may be productive affixes in less studied African Afrasian languages. Examples quoted below are also heterogeneous in what concerns a number of root consonants, i.e. from the point of view of their formal reliability: postulating a fourth consonant as a root extender by comparing a quadri- and a triconsonantal root is naturally more convincing than ascribing it to a third radical by comparing a tri- and a biconsonantal root; however, comparisons of the latter type are also included for the same reason--a risk of losing potentially pertinent cases because of puristic self-confidence seems to me less justifiable than that of including several cast-offs. Finally, examples well compatible semantically were included on a par with quite debatable and even questionable comparisons; this is done deliberately because until the additional meaning brought about by the presumed affixation of this or that RE is established, the comparison limited by identical or similar meaning leads a student into a kind of deadlock while a wider choice of forms to compare, on the contrary, gives a chance to reveal repeated meaning shifts which is worth a risk of finally rejecting some percentage of comparisons as rubbish.

The data are arranged in the following way: first come prefixed REs, then infixes and finally suffixed ones. The first part of each entry contains form(s) with a hypothetical root extender and the second part, after vs. (versus), contains matches without this root extender implying that the second part usually though not always represents, in the author's view, a primary "base" root and the first part represents a derived root; in certain cases, however, especially when the first part is represented by a much wider scope of languages than the second (say, a Common Semitic root containing **-m* in the Auslaut vs. an Arabic root without it) a secondary apocope of an original radical cannot be excluded. Since most of the examples are quoted, sometimes updated, after the two volumes of the Semitic Etymological Dictionary (whence the headings, which represent Semitic protoforms, are quoted in bold type letters), they are divided into three sections: animal names after SED II, anatomy after SED I and varia (semantically diverse examples collected by the author with a focus on agricultural terms and items from the "Swadesh's" 100-word list whenever pertinent). This division is justified not only by the fact that the anatomic, faunal, agricultural or "basic" (in the lexicostatistical method's sense) lexicons are better studied and more

familiar to the author, but also because the above-mentioned choice helps avoid a temptation of taking premature results for granted: thus, if *-n* claimed to be a class marker of body parts (Dietrich, Yushmanov, v. in Yush 177) is widely attested as a suffixed element in animal names or a non-anatomic "basic" lexicon, the anatomic hypothesis needs a more cautious treatment.

Within each section, first come examples of this or that RE in individual Semitic languages in the following order: Akk., Ugr., Hbr., Pho., Arm., Arb., Sab., Eth., MSA; then come examples of Common or Proto-Semitic RE; then of RE in non-Semitic Afrasian in the following order: Egyptian, Berber, Chadic, Cushitic, Omotic; and, finally, of Common Afrasian RE.

It goes without saying that some five hundred cases of presumed root extension presented below are only "top of the iceberg" and can, at least for some of root extenders, be *ad libitum* multiplied both in Semitic and other Afrasian.

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Abbreviations of languages and language periods:

Afras. - Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic); Akk. - Akkadian; Amh. - Amharic; Anc. - Ancient; Arb. - Arabic; Arg. - Argobba; Arm. - Aramaic; BD - Book of the Dead; Bib. - Biblical Aramaic; Brb - Berber; C. - Central; Cha. - Chaha; Chad. - Chadic; Copt. - Coptic; Cush. - Cushitic; Dat. - Datina Arabic; Dem. - Demotic; Dof. - Dofar Arabic; Dyn. - Dynasty; E. - East; Ebl. - Eblaitic; Egyp. - Egyptian; Emp. - Empire; End. - Endegen; Enn. - Ennemor; Eth. - Ethiopian; Gaf. - Gafat; Gez. - Geez; Gog. - Goggot; Gr. - Greek period; Gur. - Gurage; Gye. - Gyeto; Har. - Harari; Hbr. - Hebrew; Hrs. - Harsusi; Jib - Jibbali; Jud. - Judaic Aramaic; lex. - Lexical Texts; Maʿl. - Maʿlula; Med. - Medical Texts; Mhr. - Mehri; MK - Middle Kingdom; Mnd. - Mandaic; Mod. - Modern; MSA - Modern South Arabian; Msq. - Masqan; Min. - Minean; Muh. - Muher; N. - North; Nab. - Nabatean; NK - New Kingdom; Oakk. - Old Akkadian; OAss. - Old Assyrian; OB - Old Babylonian; Off. - Official Aramaic; OK - Old Kingdom; Omot - Omotic; P - Proto; Pal. - Palestinian Aramaic; pB. - post-Biblical; Pho. -Phoenician; Pyr. - Pyramid Texts; S. - South; Sab. - Sabaic, Sam. - Samaritan, SB - Standard Babylonian, Sel. - Selti; Sem. - Semitic; Sod. - Soddo; Soq. - Soqotri; Sum. - Sumerian, Syr. - Syrian Aramaic; Tgr. - Tigre; Tna. - Tigrinña (Tigrai); Tur. - Turoyo (Neo-Aramaic); Ugr. - Ugaritic; W. - West; Won. - Wolane; Yem. - Yemenite Arabic; Zw. - Zwai.

Conventions:

[] marks the beginning of every entry focusing on Semitic data

<> marks the beginning of every entry focusing on Afrasian data

Consonantal Prefixation

mV- (cf. Barth 233-73, GVG 375-82)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *mīrānu* (*mūrānu*) 'young dog, puppy; cub of a wild animal' vs. Ugr. *ʔirn* 'puppy, puppy-dog' (in **ʔVīan- ~ *ʔVīar-* 'small predatory animal' SED II No. 8). [] Arb. *minhas-* vs. *nahās-*, *nahūs-* 'lion' in **nVhVš-* 'lion' (SED II No. 159). [] Gez. *māʕənak*, *māʕnəḵ* 'turtledove, locust-eating crane' (with the *ʕ ~ ʔ* variation) vs. *ʔanḵe*, *ʔanḵet* 'hawk, kite' < **ʔan(V)ḵ-* 'a bird of prey' (SED II No. 6). [] Wol. *mofān*, Sel. *mōfān*, Sod. *mofen*, *mofān* vs. Muh. Msq. Gog. *wāfen* < **yapan-* 'young bull' (SED II No. 250). [] Jib. *mayzēl* 'big flock (of goats, sheep)' (JJ 92) vs. Sem. **yVzāl-* 'gazelle' (SED II No. 92; cf. metathetic Brb. **-za/ulay-* 'goat, sheep': Nefusa *zaləy* 'belier', Ahaggar *a-hūlay*, Ayr *azulay* 'bouc' ibid.); [] Soq. *mibkéroh* 'jeune chamelle' vs. *békər* 'animal with one young only' (JJ 25, not in LS), Mhr. *bōkər* 'young female camel' < **bVḵVī(-at)-* 'young (she-)camel' (SED II No. 56). [] Sem. **maʕʕ(a)z-* 'goat': Arb. *maʕz-*, Min. *mʕzy*, etc. (SED II No. 148) vs. **ʕVīz-* id.: Ugr. *ʕz*, Arb. *ʕanz(-at)-*, Sab. *ʕnz*, etc. (SED II No. 35).

Anatomy:

[] Akk. *nešbettu* (*n-* is very likely < **m-*) vs. **sībī(-at)-*, **ʔVšbaʕ-* 'finger': Ugr. *ʔuṣbʕ*, Hbr. *ʔāšbaʕ*, Syr. *sebʕā*, etc. (SED I No. 256). [] Hbr. *məṭalləʕōt* vs. **IVy-* 'jaw': Jud. Syr. *lōʕā*, Mhr. *lyənān*, etc. (perhaps also Hbr. *lōāʕ* 'gullet or jaw' SED I No. 177). [] Hbr. *maḵḵōḵayim* (dual; met.) 'gums' vs. **ḥalk-*, **ḥalkū/um* 'Adam's apple, throat': Arb. *ḥalk-* 'gosier, gorge', Gez. *ḥəḷḵ* 'throat, gullet, palate', etc. (SED I No. 117). [] Syr. *marbəʕā* 'uterus', Mnd. *marba* 'womb, uterus' (< **ma-rbaš-*) vs. **ru/abš-* 'womb, uterus': Akk. *rubšu*, etc. (SED I No. 226). [] Arb. *mkn* 'av. des oeufs, é. oeuvé', *makn-* 'oeufs des reptiles et des insectes', *makinat-* 'oeufs (d'oiseaux, de lézard, de sauterelle, etc.; nid d'oiseau' (BK 2 1139) vs. *wkn* 'couvrir ses oeufs', *ʔawkun-*, *wukunāt-* 'nid (d'oiseau)' (ibid. 1600), *ʔuknat-* 'nid d'oiseau' (ibid. 1 44) < Afras. **ʔa-wkin-* 'egg': W. Chad. Diri *akin* (Sk NB 19), E. Cush. Somali (Benadir) *ʔukun*, *ukkun*, Rendille *ukun*, Oromo (Borana) *okokan*, N. Omot. Anfillo *keenno* (Dolg 1973 282). [] Arb. Dat. *maḥbalah* 'utérus' vs. Arb. *ḥabal-* 'foetus' < **ḥabal-*, **ḥibl-* 'foetus; umbilical cord' (SED I No. 110). [] Arb. *manḥūr-* 'partie du corps autour de la clavicule' vs. *naḥr-* 'clavicule et la partie du corps entre le bas du cou et le sternum' < **nah(a)r-* 'upper part of chest': Tgr. *nāḥar* 'breast', Jib. *nāḥar* 'windpipe and lungs' (SED I No. 196). [] Arb. *maḥāl-*, *maḥālat-* 'milieu du dos, vertèbre' vs. *ḥāl-* 'dos du cheval' < **ḥa/ul(l)-* 'spinal column with thigh bones': Akk. *ḥallu* 'crotch, region between the thighs', Hbr. pB. *ḥulyā* 'limb; vertebra of the spinal column' (SED I No. 114). [] Arb. *mišfalat-* 'gésier, jabot (d'oiseau); estomac' vs. **šxV(n)pVI-* 'stomach (of an animal, bird)': Tgr. *šənfəlla* 'one of ruminant's four stomachs', Jib. *šəfəl* 'belly', etc. (SED I No. 271). [] Gez. *mazrāʕt*, Tgr. *māzrəʕt*, Tna *māzraʕti* 'shoulder' vs. **dVīāʕ-* 'arm': Ugr. *drʕ*, Arb. *dirāʕ-* (also Tgr. *zāraʕ* unless an Arabism; SED I No. 65). [] Gez. (met.) *matkaʕ*, *matkaft* 'shoulder, shoulder blade', Tgr. *māktāf* 'shoulder' vs. Hbr. *kātēp*, Arb. *katif*, etc. < **kat(aʕ)p-* '(back of) shoulder, shoulder blade' (SED I No. 154). [] Tgr. *mārkāb* 'shoulder-joint' vs. Gez. *rākub* 'shoulder blade' < **rVḵ(u)b-at-* 'knee': Arb. *rukbat-*, etc. (SED I No. 232). [] S. Eth. **manḵurt*: Amh. *manḵurt* 'Adam's apple, larynx', Zway *manḵurt*, Goggot *manḵurt*, Soddo *manḵur* 'goitre' vs. Eth. **ʕ/ʔanḵar* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *ʔanḵa/ār* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *ʕanḵär* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *ʕanḵär*

'ugola', Amh. *anḳä/ar* 'uvula', Arg. *ənḳərt* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har. *ənḳərti*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənḳərt* 'goitre'. [] Jib. *məzrēš*, Soq. *māzrəh* 'molar tooth' (<*ma-šrVš) vs. ***šis-**: Arb. *ḍirs-*, Gez. *ḍərs*, etc. (SED I No. 275). [] Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mensōb*, Jib. *məsōt*, Soq. *mənsūb* vs. Soq. *ʔənsōb*, Arb. *ʔisb-*, etc. <***š/sVb-**, ***ʔVš/sVb-** 'pubic hair' (SED I No. 239). [] Hrs. *mešhāwt* 'armpit' vs. Jib. *šhəṭ*, Soq. *šhoh* < ***šahwī-at-** 'armpit': Jud. *šahātā*, etc. (SED I No. 240). [] Soq. *mīkṣəh* 'articulation, falangue' vs. Arb. *ḳašāš-*, etc. 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', Amh. *ḳəṭay* 'joint of foot', etc. < ***ḳ(ʷ)əys-**, ***ḳ(ʷ)əss-** 'joint, point of connection between bones' (SED I No. 172). [] Soq. *maʕgəboḥ* 'fesse' vs. Hbr. pB. *ʕāḡābā* 'rump, buttocks', Arb. *ʕaḡb-* 'l'os sacrum' < ***ʕagb-** 'rump, buttocks' (SED I No. 13). [] (?) Soq. *mōnhəṣ* 'reins, hanche' < ***mV-nḥVš** (met.) vs. ***hamns-** 'waist': Akk. *ḥanṣātu* (pl. t.) 'part of human body, possibly waist', Arb. *ʔahmaṣ-* 'milieu du corps' (SED I No. 132). [] Sem. (Aram.-Arb.) ***mVnḥar-** 'nose': Arm. Dem. *mnḥr* and Maʕl. *manḥra* (unless < Arb.) 'nose', Arb. *minḥar-* 'narine, nez' (hardly < ***nḥr** 'to snore' attested in Akk. and Gez. but not in Arb.) vs. ***naḥīr-** 'nostril': Akk. *naḥīru*, Arb. *nuḥrat-*, *nuḥarat-* id., etc. (SED I No. 198). [] Sem. ***mVšVraʕ-**: Akk. *mešrētu* (pl. t.) 'limbs', Soq. *məšəṛāʕ* 'tendon d'Achille' vs. Sem. ***šVry/wʕ-**, ***šVry/ʕ-ān-** '(Achilles') tendon; sinew, muscle (of leg)': Akk. *šerʔānu* 'sinew, tendon, muscle', Jib. *šəṛīn* 'muscles of the back', etc. (SED I No. 268). [] Sem. ***malah-**: Gez. *maltāḥt* 'cheek, jaw', Tna. *māta/əḷəḥ* 'temple', *mātalāḥti* 'the upper forepart of the skull', Mhr. *məḷḥāw* 'jaw, molar tooth', Hrs. *meleḥāw* 'side of the jaw', Jib. *məzḥət* 'jaw', Soq. *malāḥi* 'cheek' vs. ***liḥ(a)y(-at)-** 'cheek, jaw': Tgr. *ləḥe* 'jaw, molar tooth', Mhr. *lēḥī* 'jaw', Hbr. *ləḥī* 'chin, jawbone, cheek', etc. (SED I No. 178). [] Sem. ***mapraḳ-**: Hbr. *maprākāt* 'neck', Jib. *məfrək* 'hairline (in women)' vs. ***pi/ak-at-**, ***pi/akr-at-** 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Jud. *pwrḳh* 'neck', Soq. *fiḳeriroh* 'cou, nuque' (SED I No. 219).

Varia:

[] Arb. *mḥr* 'labourer (la terre)' (Belot 659; only 'fendre, sillonner l'eau' in BK 2 1072, 'to plough the waves' in Pen 137) vs. Akk. *ḥarāru* 'to dig with a hoe' (also 'to groove' CAD *H* 91); for a possible etymology of the Akk. verb cf. LGz 265 (comparison problematic in view of a variety of meanings of both verbs). [] Gez. *makala*, *makkola* (acc. to LGz 339, for *makkʷala*, a secondary derivation with *m-* prefixed) 'to cut with a sickle, mow', Tna. *mākālā* 'to mow, cut', Tgr. *māklay* 'halm of durra, halm of corn' vs. Gez. *kʷālawa* 'to reap, mow' (cf. also Amh. *kəlkəl* 'pasture') < Sem.: Akk. *ukullū* 'Viehfutter; Verpflegung(sration), Verköstigung', Arb. *klʔ* 'abonder en fourrage (se dit d'un pays)', *kalaʔ-* 'fourrage (sec ou vert)' < Afras. ***k(ʷ)alaʔ/w-** 'forage, fodder; pasture; mowing, cutting grass' (Mil Farm 145). [] Hrs. *mābayl* 'dog' (JH 14), Mhr. *mābayl* 'owned' (*kawb mābayl* 'dog'), Soq. *məbʕhəl* 'slave' (JM 41), formally a passive participle < ***bʕl** 'to own' (lit. 'owned'); however, the verb is not present in Hrs. and Mhr. (of all MSA it is attested in the meaning 'to own' only in Jib. *baʕāl* JJ 22 < Sem. ***bʕl** 'to own', v. in HAL 142-3; in Soq. *baʕāl* means 'se marier (homme ou femme)' LS 90 and semantically cannot serve a verbal base for deriving a noun *məbʕhəl* 'slave') and has to be treated as a "denominal noun" from Hrs. *bāl*, *byāl* 'master, lord; possessor' (JH 14), Mhr. *bāl*, *bāyli*, *bəʕēli* 'owner, possessor' (JM 41). [] Sem. ***mkr** 'to be red': Akk. *makrū* 'red', *makru* 'red spot' CAD *M* 138, Arb. *mkr* 'ê. rouge' BK 2 1138 (cf.

also Egyp. Gr. *mkrr* 'zwischen "schwarz" und "weiss" als Farbenbezeichnung' EG II 163) vs. Afras.: Sem. Arb. *karik*- 'rouge' (BK 2 888; < **kark*Vr-, unless a loanword), Egyp. Pyr. *tr* 'das Rote' (EG V 386; < **k*Vr-). < C. Chad. Peve *məčín* 'mahogany' vs. Boka *tîin-da*, Hona *tînə*, Banana *čin-da*, Masa *čin-da* 'mahogany; tamarind' < Afras. **tiʔ(i)n*- 'fig-tree': Sem. Hbr. *təʔēnā* 'fig, *figus Carica*', Arb. *tîn*- 'figue', etc., Brb. Ahaggar *təyne*, Taneslemt *tehəyne*, Semlal *tiyni*, etc. (Mil Farm 142).

nV-

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *nādāl* 'polyp, centipede', Jud. *naddal* id., Syr. *naddālā* 'scolopendra' vs. Sem. ***dMVI-** 'kind of small creature': Akk. *dālilu*, *dallālu* 'a small animal, probably a frog', Syr. *dandālā* 'scolopendra, forticula auricularia vel millepeda', Jib. *dololēt* 'kind of slow-moving snake' < Afras.: E. Chad. Dangla *didoḷnyā* 'limace', E. Cush. Darasa *daddalʔe*, Kambatta *diill-ičču*, Sidamo *dandale* 'lizard' (SED II No. 68). [] (?) Arb. *nibr*- 'teigne; mouche ou autre insecte qui incommode les chameaux et dont la piqure cause une enflure' vs. ***bur**- 'kind of insect': Akk. **būrtu* (in *burt/di šamḥat*) 'caterpillar', Muh. *burā* 'insect that eats the root of the *āsāt*' (SED II No. 62). [] Tgr. *nāsālāt* 'serpent boa', Gez. *nestāli*, *nesātāli* 'serpent-idol of bronze; field snake' vs. Tgr. *ʔashālāt* 'dragon', Tna. *ʔasālāt*, *ʔashālāt* 'mythical creature, like a crocodile in appearance; python', Syr. *ʔātalyā* 'draco' < Sem. ***ʔat(h)al**- 'a mythical reptile, dragon' < Afras. **ʔač(h)al*- ~ **čaʔal*- ~ **haylač*- 'a large reptile': Brb. **HaššVI*- '(large) snake' (Ghat *ašil*, Ahaggar *āššel*, etc.), S. Cush. Dahalo *táʔala* 'puff-adder', N. Omot. Gemu *haylašo*, S. Omot. Ari *hayleša* 'crocodile', etc. (SED II No. 20). [] Sem. ***nVḵVr**- 'kind of bird': Jud. *nəḵīrā* 'name of small birds (pickers)', Arb. *naḵḵār*- 'sorte d'oiseau du genre des passereaux', etc. (SED II No. 162) vs. Sem. ***ḵ(w)āriʔ/y**- // ***ḵāriʔ/y**- 'kind of bird, partridge': Jud. *ḵōrēʔā*, Arb. *ḵāriy-at*, etc. (SED II No. 134). [] Sem. ***nVṣVr**- 'cricket': Hbr. pB. *nēšār*, Syr. *nāšorā*, etc. (SED II No. 167) vs. ***saṣaūr**- 'cricket': Akk. *saṣaru*, Hbr. pB. *saṣūr*, *saṣūrā*, etc. (ibid. No. 213). [] Sem. ***namir**- 'leopard': Akk. *nimru*, Hbr. *nāmēr*, etc. vs. Afras. **ma/ur*- 'large feline': W. Chad. Dera *muumuru* 'cheetah', C. Chad. Lame-Peve *mereo* 'cat', Zime *miēr* 'genette', E. Cush. Oromo *morre* 'zibetto' (Thiene 153), S. Cush. Gorowa *mariri-ka* 'leopard', Asa *mer-ok* 'lion', etc. (SED II No. 164). [] Sem. ***na(ya)l**- 'a wild hoofed animal': Akk. *nayalu* (*nālu*) 'roe deer', Tna. *nəyala* 'mountain antelope', etc. (SED II No. 169) vs. Sem. ***ʔayyal**- 'stag, deer': Akk. *ayalu*, Hbr. *ʔayyāl*, etc. < Afras. **ʔayVI*- 'stag; kind of antelope': E. Chad. Lele *òl*, Kabalai *yile* 'duiker', E. Cush. Somali *eelo* 'tipo de gazella (antilope giraffa)', S. Cush. Dahalo *ʔēle* 'hartebeest', etc. (ibid. No. 25).

Anatomy:

[] Sem. ***nšp** 'to blow': Akk. *našāpu*, Hbr. *nšp*, Jud. *nəšap*, etc. (SED I Vb. No. 51) vs. ***šwp** 'to blow, smell': Hbr. pB., Jud. *šwp*, etc. (ibid. Vb. No. 63). [] Sem. ***npš** 'to breathe': Akk. *napāšu*, Hbr. *npš*, etc. (SED I Vb. 46) vs. ***pš** id.: Akk. *pašū*, Hbr. pB. *pwš*, etc. (ibid. 56). [] Sem. ***nph/h** 'to blow, breathe, inflate': Akk. *napāhu*, Jud. *nəpah*, Arb. *nfh*, *nfh*, etc. (cf. SED I Vb. No. 45) vs. ***pb/h** 'to breathe, blow, exhale (smell)': Jud. *pwh*, Arb. *fhh*, *fhh*, etc. (ibid. No. 54); note that in all the three above pairs of matching roots, the roots with *n*- in the Anlaut are reconstructible on a

deeper level of Semitic as they occur in a wider scope of languages than those without *n-* (which may be accounted for by a morphonological process other than a prefixation of *n-*; one wonders whether it can be a secondary loss of *n-*) [] Sem. **nkt* 'to bite': Jud. Syr. Mnd. *nkt* 'to bite' (DM 301), Arb. *nkt* 'détordre, défaire (une corde); se fourcher, etc.' (BK 2 1338), Tna. *nākāsā*, Tgr. *nākša*, Amh. *nākkāsā*, etc. (LGz 402) vs. Afras. **kVč-*: Brb. Ahaggar *əkš* (Fouc 736), Taneslemt *n-əkš* 'manger', Ayr *ənkəs* 'téter' (Aloj 147), C. Chad. Malgwa *kūča* 'abreissen, abbeissen' (Löhr 298), E. Cush. Sidamo *kis-* 'to bite' (HSED No. 1453; not in other available sources).

Varia:

[] Akk. *nadānu* 'to give, offer a sacrifice, etc.' (CAD N 42; rather unrelated to Sem. **ntn*, v. below) vs. Arb. *dyn* 'prêter; rétribuer' (BK 1 757), Mhr. *adyēn* 'to lend (money, supplies), to give credit' (JM 78), Jib. *edyin* id. (JJ 44), Soq. **šedyen* caus.-refl. 's'emprunter' (LS 127; unless all MSA < Arb.) < Afras.: Egyp. Pyr. *wdn* 'opfer' (EG I 391). [] Eth. **ndk* 'to build' (LGz 386) vs. W. Chad. **dik-* id.: Sura Chip *dik* (<**dik-* HSED No. 703). [] Tna. *nāfārā* 'to fly', Tgr. *nāfra* 'to jump, fly' (LH 346) vs. Hrs. Mhr. Soq. *fer* 'to fly, jump' (JH 33), Jib. *ferr* 'to fly, jump up quickly' (JJ 59) < Afras. **pVr-* 'to fly': Brb. Nefusa *far*, Jerba *ferfer*, etc. (DRB 597-9), Egyp. Pyr. *p* 'fliegen' (EG I 494), N. Cush. Beja *fir*, *firr*, C. Cush. Bilin *fir* (RBeđ 81), etc. [] MSA: Mhr. *nəḥāg*, Jib. *naḥag* '(women) 'to dance; (men) to be at leisure; (children) to play; to joke with so.' (JM 291, JJ 186), Soq. *nóhog*, *nóhog* 'jouer, s'amuser' (LS 259) vs. Sem.: Hbr. *hgg* 'to walk in procession, to celebrate a pilgrim's feast, to celebrate a day', *ḥag* 'procession, round dance, festival' (HAL 289), Syr. *ḥaggā* 'dies festus' (Brock 213), Arb. *ḥǝǝ* 'se réjouir de quelque chose' (BK 1 379) < Afras.: Egyp. MK *h'g* 'sich freuen' (EG III 34; v. Mil EF 9-20). [] Hbr. Pho. Bib. Pal. *ntn* 'to give' vs. Ugr. Pho. *ytn* id. (HAL 733; DLU 543). [] Sem.: Akk. *nākidu*, Ugr. *nkd*, Hbr. *nōkēd*, Arb. *naḳḳād-* 'shepherd, sheep-breeder' (HAL 720) vs. Afras. **kVd-*: Brb. Ayr *@@@E!* W. Tawllemmet *ə-yadyad* 'troupeau de chèvres' (Aloj 65), N. Omot. Moča *qiddo* 'shepherd' (LMč 46; likely also Kafa *qidō* 'guardian' id. *ibid.@@@*; not quite reliable as the Afras. data are scarce. <> Egyp. MK *nḳdd* 'schlafen' (EG II 345) vs. Pyr. *ḳd-t* 'Schlaf' (ibid. V 79) < Afras. **kVd-* or **kVt-*? Cf. S. Omot. Ongota *kaaḳe* 'to lie down' (ST 121), *kaade* 'to sleep, lie down' (Fl Ong 56) < **kāt-* or **kād-* (v. also Mil Ong).

tV- (cf. Barth 274-311, GVG 383-88)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *titkurru* 'dove' (in CAD L 48) vs. Tgr. *tukor* 'tourterelle' (in **tVkur(r)-* 'kind of bird' SED II No. 226). [] Arb. *taḥmūr-* 'onagre' vs. *ḥimār-* 'âne; âne sauvage, onagre' < **ḥimār-* 'ass': Akk. *imēru*, Hbr. *ḥāmōr*, etc. (SED II No. 98). [] Arb. *taʔmūr-* 'espece de chamois' vs. *ʔa/immār-* 'agneau' < **ʔimmār-* 'lamb': Ugr. *ʔimr*, Hbr. *ʔimmēr*, etc. (SED II No. 5). [] Gez. *tayfan* (*tafen*, *təfan*), Tna. *tāfin* vs. Amh. *wāyfan*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *wāfen*, etc. < **yapan-* 'young bull' (SED II No. 250). [] Sem.: Akk. *turāḥu* 'Bergziegenbock, Steinbock', Syr. *ta(ʔ)rāḥā* (*tārūḥā*) 'capra caucasica' vs. Akk. *arḥu* 'cow', Arm. Dem. *ʔrḥ* 'cow', etc. < **ʔarḥ-* 'cow, heifer' (SED II No. 12). [] Gez. *tomni* 'bedbug' vs. Syr. *mənīnā* 'curculio; cynips, musca', Arb. *minanat-*, *manūnat-* 'aragnée' < **mVn(Vn)-* 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 152). <> Cush. **tak^{wil}-* 'wolf': N. Cush.

Beja *ták^wla*, C. Cush. Bilin *täg^wla*, *təy^wla*, Qwara *taḥ^wəla*, Kemant *takwila*, Kunfāl *tuhula*, E. Cush. Saho *takla*, *taḥla* (unless < C. Cush.) vs. Afras. **k^wVI-* 'wolf, dog, fox': Brb. Ayr *ā-kūlen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kələ̀* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kulkò* 'cynhyene', etc. (v. in **kalb-* 'dog' SED II No. 115).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *timtān-*, *timtīn-* 'couture des pièces qui composent la tente' vs. *matn-* 'nerf' < **matn-* 'sinew, tendon; nerve' (SED I No. 191; semantically tenable, though not fully reliable). [] Mhr. *təbəlōt* 'uvula; tonsil(s); tonsilitis', Hrs. *tebelōt* 'tonsil; uvula', Jib. *təbḏəḥōt* 'uvula' (cf. *múbləy* 'tonsil'), Soq. (Qadhub) *təblayah* 'amygdale; luette' vs. **balVI/y-*, **balVIm-* 'pharynx, fauces': Syr. *bālaʿtā*, Arb. *bulʿum-*, etc. (SED I No. 36). <> C. Cush. Bilin *taʿānge*, Quara *tanāgā* 'Gaumen' vs. Kemant *angī* 'palais de la bouche', likely < Afras. **ʿVng-* (v. in SED I, No. 15).

Varia:

[] Amh. *təllək* 'grand' (Baet 486) vs. *laḳä* 'grow, grow up' < Eth. **lhk* id. < Sem. (LGz 309). <> C. Chad Fali (Bwagira) *takurm-in* 'hoe' vs. Hona *kūra*, W. Chad. Hausa *kórámé* 'long-handled hoe', Ngizim *kūrəm* 'hoe' (Mil Farm 146). <> E. Cush. Dobase *takale* 'Grabstock ohne Klinge' vs. Burji *kāl-te* 'shaft (of plough); small axe', Oromo Qabenna Kambatta *kal-ta* 'small axe', Baiso *kal-te* 'axe' < Cush. **k^wal-* < Afras. **(ʔa-)k^wal-* or **(ʔa-)kawal-* 'k. of hoe, a hammer/axe-like tool, a pick-axe': Sem. Akk. *akkullu* 'a hammer-like tool, tool for field work', *kullu* 'hoe', Syr. *ʔakl-* 'malleus', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *kaálai* 'a worn-out long-handled hoe', C. Chad. Hildi *kwulū*, etc. (Mil Farm 145-6).

ʔV- (cf. Barth 218-26, Zab)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *uplu* 'Kopflaus' vs. Sem. **pVI(y)-* 'kind of insect, louse': Jud. *palyā*, 'name of a locust on palm-trees', Arb. *fāliyat-* 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée', Mhr. *fəlō* 'to delouse', etc. (SED II No. 175). [] Akk. *ušummu* 'Gartenschläfer', Ebl. *ū-šu-mu-um* id. vs. Akk. *šummu* id., Arb. *šīm-* 'rat' (v. in **sVIm-* 'kind of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] Akk. *aslu* (if this reading is correct) 'young (male) sheep' vs. **tVI-* 'head of small cattle': Arb. *tilal-*, *tilāl-* 'troupe de brebis', Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *tal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Hbr. *ʔäprōāḥ*, Jud. *ʔäprōḥā* vs. Hbr. *pirḥaḥ* 'brood', pB. *pārah* 'young chicken', Jud. *parḥātā*, Syr. *pāraḥtā* 'bird' < **parḥ-* 'chick, brood' (SED II No. 179). [] Hbr. pB. *ʔānākā*, Jud. *ʔanākā* vs. Hbr. pB. *nəḳāʔā*, *nākā*, Jud. *nā(?)ḳətā*, *nākā* < **nāk-at-* 'she-camel' (SED II No. 161). [] Jud. *ʔakroḳtā* vs. **kVI(V)r-* 'frog': Arb. *ḳirr-*, *ḳurr-*, Gez. *ḳāḳer*, etc. (SED II No. 137). [] Jud. *ʔinbā* vs. *nibbā* 'eggs of lice' < **nāb-* ~ **nib(b)-* 'louse, nit': Akk. *nābu*, Syr. *nābā*, etc. (SED II No. 157). [] Arb. *ʔaʿwar-* 'corbeau' vs. diminutive *ʔuwayr-* < **ʔarw/y-* ~ **ʔawr-* 'bird of prey': Akk. *erū* (*arū*) 'eagle', Jud. *ʔar* 'a bird of prey', etc. (SED II No. 40). [] Arb. *ʔaḥyal-* 'k. of falcon' vs. Hbr. *ḥōl* 'phoenix' < **ḥVI-* 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 107). [] S. Eth.: Gaf. *ūf^wərä*, Sel. *ufi*, Wol. Zw. Gog. Sod. *äfur* (all < **ʔafur*; to be alternatively treated as metathetic < **fāʔur-*) vs. Har. *fūr*, End. Enn. Gyt. *fūʔur*, Cha. Eža Muh. Msq. *fūr* < **paʔr-* 'mouse' (SED II No. 170). [] Soq. *ʔedbīboh* vs. Mhr. *dəbbēt*, Jib. *dəbbót* < **dVb(V)b-* 'fly' (SED II No. 73). [] Soq. *ʔiṣfēroh* (to be alternatively treated as a variant root in

respect to Jib. *ʕeʃfērōt*, Arb. *ʕuʃfūr-*, with ? vs. ʕ) vs. *ʕafirō-te* < ***sVp(p)Vr-** '(kind of) small bird': Ugr. *ʕpr*, Hbr. *ʕippōr*, etc. (SED II No. 212). [] Soq. *ʕélheh* vs. Jib. *léʕ* (pl. *lhóti*) < ***liʕ(-at)-**, ***laʕay-at-** 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu*, Arb. *laʕāt-*, etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Sem. ***ʕVbbVI-** 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 3): Akk. *ibbiltu* 'a bird', Arb. *ʕabābīl-* (pl.) 'nom d'oiseaux fabuleux', Tgr. *ʕambāla* 'Webervogel' vs. ***bVI-** 'kind of small bird': Akk. *bulīlu* 'a species of crested bird', Arb. *bulbul-* 'rossignol', Tgr. *bāla* 'a small brown bird', Amh. *bullal* 'dove', etc. < Afras. ***bVI(bVI)-** 'kind of (small) bird': Brb. Ahaggar *ā-bīlbil* 'nom d'un oiseau plus grand que le pigeon', Wargla *bibelli* 'volaille quelconque', W. Chad. Hausa (dial.) *bōlō*, Ankwe *bēl* 'dove', Dera *ḥilḥil* 'swallow', etc., C. Chad.: Piẓimdi *mbole-di*, E. Chad. Gabri *bēlu* 'dove', N. Cush. Beja *belbel* 'wilde Taube', E. Cush. Oromo *bulula* 'dove' (probably < Amh.), Sidamo *buloʕe* 'bird' (SED II No. 60). [] Sem. < ***ʕaīw(a)z-** 'goose': Ugr. *ʕuz*, Hbr. pB. *ʕāwāz*, Jud. *ʕawzā*, *ʕāwāzā*, Mnd. *auaza*, Arb. *ʕiwazz-* vs. ***waz(z)-** id.: Syr. *wazzā*, Arb. *wazz-* < Afras. ***(ʕa-)waz-** 'kind of large bird; goose': Egyp. *z-t*, *zw-t* 'Ente, Gans', Brb. Igerwan *wawužž*, Izayan *wawāž*, Messiwa Ait Amran *wauž* 'perdrix', Ghadames *a-wəz(z)*, pl. *wəzz-ān* 'autruche', (?) W. Chad. Sha *ʕawūš* 'Vogel', Bokkos *ʕavūš* id. (Jung R 389; -š < *-z devoiced in Auslaut?), E. Chad. Mokilko *ʕūzū* 'poulet, coq, volaille' (SED II No. 22). [] Sem. ***ʕabbVk-** 'kind of bird': Jud. *ʕabbākā* 'large cock', Syr. *ʕābakkā* 'gallus', Tgr. *ʕabbəkiki* 'a small bird of light-yellow colour (probably a sort of lapwing)' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Bidiya *ʕābūkā* 'outarde') vs. Afras. ***bVkay-**: Sem. Syr. *bakkā* 'gallus', Egyp. Old *byk* 'Falke', Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *bəkət*, C. Chad. Gisiga *bokoy* 'hen', N. Omot. *bakke* 'hen, fowl', etc. (v. in SED II No.1). [] Sem. ***ʕinmar-** 'lamb' (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Fyer *ʕamara* 'Widder', Sha *āmārā* id.) vs. Afras. ***mar-** 'goat, ram': W. Chad. Tangale *mara* 'large castrated he-goat', Polchi Buli *maar* 'goat', Bokkos *maray* 'ram', E. Cush. Saho Afar *māruu* 'Schafbock, Widder', N. Omot. Wolaita *mara* 'offspring of sheep or goat', Male *marai*, Shinasha *mereera* 'sheep' (SED II No. 5). [] Sem. ***ʕa(n)z/dar-**: Akk. *azaru* (*azzaru*) 'lynx', (?) Arb. *ʕazram-* 'chat', Gez. *ʕanzar* 'wild cat' < Afras. ***ʕa(n)z/žVr-** (to be alternatively treated as a metathesis of ***z/žVʕVr-**): E. Cush. Konso *aturra-ta* 'civet cat, viverra', Oromo *adurree*, Darasa Sidamo *adurre* 'cat', etc. (< ***ʕadurr-** < ***ʕaz/žurr-**) vs. Afras. ***z/žV(ʕV)r-**: Brb. Ahaggar *tā-hūri*, Ayr *tə-zorəy* 'hyène', W. Chad. Galambu *zərəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzūrmā*, Bachama *zhara*, *žarā*, Bata *žire*, E. Chad. Gabri *žur*, Mubi *žyūrūk* 'leopard', S. Cush. Alagwa *žeʕira*, Burunge *žiʕerare* 'wild cat', N. Omot. Kafa *yeeroo*, *žäro* 'viverra abessinica' (SED II No. 5).

Anatomy:

[] Jud. *ʕapḳōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *apḳuta* 'neck, throat' vs. Mnd. *pḳuta*, Arb. *fāʕiḳ-* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête' < ***pVk-** 'neck' (SED I No. 213). [] Arb. *ʕafakk-* 'endroit où les deux mâchoires se joignent' vs. *fakk-* 'charnière; jointure de deux mâchoires; partie de la bouche qui comprend la mâchoire supérieure et l'inférieure' < ***pakk-** 'jaw': Syr. *pakkā* 'mala, bucca; maxilla', etc. (SED I No. 212). [] Eth. ***ʕag(w)ad-**: Gez. *ʕagadā* 'thighbone, shinbone, tibia, leg, large bone of the leg, shoulder of animal', Amh. *agāda* 'leg (of a man), hind leg (of a cow), bone of the upper arm or the shin bone', *agwāda* 'hoof, foot', Gaf. *agat* 'bras', Enn. End. *agad*, etc. 'arm above the elbow, shoulder, shoulder blade' (in ***(ʕa)g(w)ad-** '(part or bone of the) leg of animal' SED I No. 71) <

Afras. **ʔag*^(w)*Vd*:- E. Cush. Oromo *agguuddoo* (also *abbuuddoo*, *abbuuduu*) 'thumb', Afar Saho *agadā*, *āgūd* (pl.) 'Arm', Sidamo *agoda* 'shoulder' vs. Sem. **gud*(*gud*):- Akk. *gudgudātu* (pl.) 'part of the lower leg of a quadruped', Tgr. *gədet* 'a piece of meat (severed from the bone); shoulder-blade' < Afras. **gVd*(*Vm*):- E. Chad. Somray *gídám* 'foot', C. Chad. Gude *gedəhán* 'leg', E. Cush. Burji *gudum-a*, Hadiya *gudum-o* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kaffa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Wolamo *gáddea* 'leg', Kullo *gādeiya* 'foot'. [] Eth. **ʔaf*:- Gez. Tna. *ʔaf*, etc. vs. Sem. **pay*- 'mouth': Akk. *pū*, Hbr. *pā*, etc. (SED I No. 223). [] N. Eth. Gez. *ʔəngədʔā* (*ʔəngədʔā*) 'breast, chest', Tna. *ʔəngədʔa* 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *naǰd*- 'mamelle' (v. in **nagd*- 'breast' SED I No. 195). [] S. Eth. **ʔuras* (otherwise to be treated as metathesis <**raʔVš*-): Amh. *əras*, Har. *urūs* vs. Amh. *ras*, Gez. *rəʔ(ə)s* < **raʔ(i)š*- 'head'; Akk. *rāšu*, Arb. *raʔs*-, etc. (SED I No. 225). [] Soq. *ʔedmiʔa* (probably also Ebl.) vs. Mhr. *dəmət*, Jib. *dəməʔat* 'tear-drop' < **dīmf*(-at)- 'tear(-drop)' (SED I No. 51). [] Soq. *ʔilbib* vs. Hrs. *ḥe-lbēb*, etc. < **libb*- 'heart' (SED I No. 174). [] Sem. **ʔibr*(-at)- 'membrum virile; (membrum, limb)': Hbr. pB. *ʔēbār*, Arb. *ʔibrat*-, etc. vs. Arb. Dat. *burrat* 'gland du pénis', *barbūr*, Oman *barbur* 'penis' < Afras. **bVr*- 'membrum virile': W. Chad. Hausa *būrā*, C. Chad. Bura *bura* 'penis', etc. (SED I No. 2). [] Sem. **ʔibr*-at- (**ʔi*(-)*bVr*-at- in SED I No. 3): Akk. *ibrētu* (pl. t.) 'radius and ulna (the two bones of the human forearm)', Hbr. pB. *ʔēbār* 'limb', Syr. *ʔebrā* 'membrum', Arb. *ʔibrat*- 'radius; (du.) les deux phalanges du cheval' vs. Sem. **bar*(*bar*):- Amh. *bərri* 'bone above the hoof of a cow', Muh. *bärrä*, Gog. Sod. *bərrä* 'thigh', Soq. *berbéroh* 'cuisse' < Afras. **bar*(*bar*)- '(bone of) leg, thigh': C. Chad. Bachama *m̄bwārā* 'leg', Bata-Garwa *baare* 'shin' (Bla SED 499), E. Cush. Rendille *barbar* 'shoulder' (probably also Somali *barbar* 'side'), N. Omot. Kafa *borboroo* 'thigh', S. Omot. Ari-Jinka *bar* 'thigh, lap' (ibid.). [] Sem. **ʔadam*:- Akk. *adamatu*, Hbr. *ʔadmātō*, Jud. *ʔādām*, etc. vs. **dam*- 'blood': Akk. *damu*, Hbr. *dām*, Jud. *dēmā*, etc. (SED I No. 50) < Afras. **dam*(*m*)- (cf. Bla SED 500). [] Sem. **ʔVbhān*/*m*- 'thumb, big toe': Akk. *ub/pānu*, Arb. *ʔibhām*- vs. **bVhā*/*in*/*m*- id.: Ebl. *ba-ʔā-nūm/nu(-um)* /*bahānum*/, Hbr. *bōhān*, Arb. *bahīm*-, Mhr. *hābēn* (met.) (cf. **bVhā*/*in*-, **ʔVbhān*- SED I No. 34). [] Sem. **ʔagap*(*p*)- 'wing': Akk. *agappu*, Hbr. pB. *ʔāgap* vs. **gapp*- id.: Akk. *gappu*, Hbr. pB. *gap*, Syr. *geppā*, etc., Arb. *ǰff* 'agiter les ailes' (in **gapp*-, **ʔa-gapp*- 'wing' SED I No. 88). [] Sem. **ʔVšbaʔ*- 'finger': Ebl. *ʔišbaʔum*, Ugr. *ʔušbʔ*, Hbr. *ʔāšbaʔ*, Jud. *ʔāšbəʔā*, Arb. *ʔašbaʔ*-, Gez. *ʔašbāʔ(ə)t*, Tna. *ʔašabəʔti* (pl.), Jib. *ʔišbāʔ*, Sab. *ʔšbʔ* (used to denote fractions), Soq. *ʔēšbah*, etc. vs. **šibʔ*(-at)- id.: Jud. *šibʔā*, Min. *šbʔ*, Tgr. *čəbʔət*, Mhr. *šəbāʔ* (SED I No. 256) < Afras. **čibVʔ*- id.: Eyp. Pyr. *dbʔ* (EG V 562), (?) N. Omot. Hozo *zaba* (Bla SED 506). [] Sem. **ʔi-šVt*:- Syr. *ʔeštā*, *ʔeštātā*, etc. 'podex, nates; fundus', Mnd. *ʔšta* (<**ʔVšt*-) 'basis, bottom, posterior, anus, buttocks', Arb. *ʔist*- (with *ʔalif wašlah*) 'derrière, fondement, cul', End. *ušt* 'waist', etc. vs. **šVt*:- Hbr. *šēt*, *šəṭōt*- 'Gesäss, Grundlage, Fundament', Mnd. *šata* 'buttocks, pubic regions', Sel. *suto* 'flesh of back above the hip', Mhr. *šīt* 'backside, buttocks; anus; root', Jib. *šō* 'back, spine', Soq. *šēh* 'parties sexuelles de la femme' (SED I No. 255). [] Sem. **ʔarib*(*Vb*)*y-at*:- Arb. *ʔurbiyyat*- 'aine; racine de fémur', Muh. *ärībā* 'abdomen below the navel, hip', Soq. *ʔerbéboh* 'rein, cuisse, giron, genou', etc. vs. **rib*(*Vb*)*y-at*:- Akk. *rebītu* 'Unterleib', Amh. *reb* 'anus, buttocks', Mhr. *rəbbūt* 'groin; (knee-)cap', Soq. *rebóboh* 'genou' (SED I No. 227). [] Sem. **ʔiraḥ*- 'palm of hand': Gez. *ʔərāh*, Jib. *irḥōt*, Hrs. *ərḥāt* (< Afras. **ʔirVḥ*-? Cf. C.

Chad. Sukur *iri* 'arm' (CLR 179) vs. ***rāh-(at)-**, ***rīh-at-**: Akk. *rittu*, Ugr. *rīt*, Arb. *rāḥat-*, Tgr. *rāḥat*, Mhr. *rəḥāt*, Hrs. *rīḥet*, Soq. *riḥoh* (SED I No. 230) < Afras. ***rayaḥ-**: W. Chad. Kulere *riyāw*, Daffo-Butura *rá* 'hand', Bokkos *rā* 'arm', C. Chad. Mafa *rāy* 'arm' (CLR 1790). [] Sem. ***ʔanšVy-**: Ugr. *ʔanš* 'musculo, tendon', Arb. *ʔal-ʔansā* 'muscle du bas de la jambe', Amh. *anisa* 'iliac bone', etc. vs. Sem. ***našy-** 'sciatic tendon/nerve': Hbr. *nāšā* (in: *gīd hannāšā*), Jud. *našyā*, Arb. *nasaʔ* (SED I No. 201). [] Sem. ***ʔamʕut-**: Akk. *amūtu* 'liver', Gez. *ʔamāʕut* 'intestine', Tna. *ʔamʕut* 'intestine' vs. Sem. ***maʕay/w(-at)-**: Akk. *mu-ū-tum* 'liver', Hbr. *mēʕayim* (pl.) 'entrails, intestines', Tgr. *məʕo*, *məʕotay*, *məʕotāt* (pl. *ʔamʕit*) 'bowels', etc. (SED I No. 185). < Afras. ***ʔambar-**: Brb. Nefusa *anbūr* (Lao 252), Wargla *ambur* 'lèvre' (R Bass Mz 230), N. Cush. Beja *ambarey* (also *ambaley*) 'lip' (Bla Beq 38), E. Cush. Dasenech *ʔaḅāar* 'lip' (Tos Das 477) vs. Afras. ***mabVr-**: W. Chad. Hausa *máḅárí* 'mouth' (Barg 734), N. Cush. Beja *mburoi* 'lip' (Bla Beq 38; otherwise loss of *a-* is an independent process in Hausa and Beja; cf. also Brb. Siwa *ambu*, pl. *mbawen* 'bouche' (Lao 204).

Varia:

[] Sem. ***ʔitmāl-**: Hbr. *ʔitmōl*, *ʔātmūl*, etc., Syr. *ʔetmāly*, Mnd. *ʔitmal* 'yesterday' (HAL 103) vs. ***timāl-**: Hbr. *təmōl*, Akk. *timāli*, Gez. *təmāləm*, etc. id. (ibid. 1746). [] Sem. ***ʔamši(l/n)-**: Akk. *amšali* 'yesterday' (<*ʔams-al-), Hbr. *ʔāmāš* 'last night, yesterday', Arb. *ʔamsi* 'yesterday', Soq. *ʔimšin* 'evening', etc. (HAL 68, LGz 368) < Afras. ***ʔamsVy-** (cf. also HSED No. 38): S. Cush. Iraqw *ʔamsiʔ* 'midnight', Alagwa Burunge *ʔamasi* 'night' (WR 55), Qwadza *amasiya* 'tomorrow' (HRSC 297), (?) N. Cush. Beja *amás* 'der späte Abend, Nacht' (RBeq 19; unless < Arb.) vs. Sem. ***mVšy-**: Akk. *mūšu* 'night' (CAD M 291), Arb. *masāʔ-* 'soir' (BK 2 1107), *mu/isy-* id. (ibid. 1108), Gez. *məsyat* 'evening, twilight' (LGz 368), etc. < Afras. ***masy/w-**: Egyp. Pyr. *msw-t* 'Abendbrot' (EG II 142), C. Chad. Gudu *məšū* 'shadow' (HSED No. 38; unless < Arb.). [] Sem. ***ʔak(u)l-**: Akk. *akkullu* (less likely *aḳḳullu* in view of the comparative data) 'a hammer-like tool, tool for field work' (OAKk. on; acc. to AHw 30, from Sum. ^{giš}NIN-GUL, but more likely <*ʔa-kull-), Syr. *ʔaklā* 'malleus', Arb. *ʔaklat-* 'marteau, mailloche?' (< Afras.? Cf. Egyp. MK *iknw* 'Hacke': -n- < *-l-?) vs. Sem. ***ka/ul-**: Akk. lex. *kullu* 'hoe', S. Arg., Har. *kalka* 'axe' (acc. to LArg 208, from E. Cush. *kalta* "with an occasional alternance *k:t*"; more likely redupl. <*kalkal) < Afras. ***k^wal-** or ***kawal-** 'k. of hoe, a hammer/axe-like tool, a pick-axe': Chad. **kawal-*, Cush. ***k^wal-**, N. Omot. **kal(l)-* (Mil Farm 145-6). < Afras. ***ʔi/abar-** 'fig-tree': Sem.: Arb. *ʔibrat-* 'figuier sycomore', Amh. *abwar* 'tree like the *warka*' (*warka* means 'sycamore'), Wol. *abro* 'k. of tree', Brb. Ghadames *ēbrər* 'être fécondé (palmier)', *āberīr* 'fleur de palmier mâle' (<*ʔi/abVrir), W. Chad. Hausa *ḅaure* 'fig-tree, fig-fruit' (<*ʔVbawr-), E. Cush. Oromo *habru*, *abru*, *harbū* 'sycamore' vs. Afras. ***baw/yar-**: Sem. Gez. *burāt* 'olive tree', End. *burat* 'k. of tree', E. Chad. Migama *bāārā* 'figuier (rouge)', N. Cush. Beja *bār* 'Dumpalm', E. Cush. Somali *bāar* 'tree top; *Commelina* spec.', Rendille *baār* '*Hyphaene coracea* Gaertn., Palmae' (Mil Farm 139).

ʔVh-

Animal names:

[] Gez. *ʔanḳāl* 'louse, vermin' vs. Sem. ***kalm-** 'louse' (probably < **kal-m-*, cf. S. Omot. Dime

kalkal 'ant' Bnd Om 346): Syr. *qalmā*, Sab. *qlm*, etc. (SED II 130 b). [] Eth. **ʔan-qura(rV)ʔ*- 'frog': Tgr. *ʔanqoroʔ*, Tna. *ənqoroʔ*, Har. *anqurārahti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *ənqurarit* vs. **kVr(V)r*- id. (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV*-Animal names). [] Mod. Eth. **ʔən-ṣərar* 'cricket': Tgr. *ʔənṣərar*, Amh. *ənṣərar* (Tna. *ʔənṣərar*) vs. **nVṣVr*- id.: Hbr. pB. *nēšār*, Syr. *nāšorā* (SED II No. 167). [] (?) Gez. *ʔināṭoli* 'young camel', Amh. *ənāṭoli* 'young female camel' vs. Gez. *wayṭal* 'kind of wild she-goat, roe, kind of gazelle', Tna. *wäyṭäl* 'ibex' vs. Gez. *ṭali* 'goat, kid' < **ṭalay*- 'lamb, kid' (SED II No. 232); comparison semantically problematic.

Anatomy:

[] Eth. **ʔən-qulaliḥ*: Tna. *ʔənqulaliḥ*, Amh. *ənqulal* or *ənq^wəlal*, etc., metathetically related to **ka(w)hīl*- 'egg': Mhr. *kāwhəl*, Jib. *kəhlət*, *kaḥézzin*, Soq. *kəḥēlhin* (v. in SED I No. 170). [] Sem. **ʔVbVʔ(bVʔ)-at*:- Hbr. *ʔābaʔbūʔōt* 'blisters, ulcers', Jud. *ʔābaʔbūʔin* (pl.) 'pustules', Gez. *ʔənpāppe* 'ulcers resulting from elephantiasis, pustules', Sel. (*h*)*umbobbo*, Wol. *əmb^wäbbo*, Cha. *əmb^wäp^wä*, etc. 'blister' vs. **bVʔ(bVʔ)-at*:- Akk. *bubuʔtu* (*bubūtu*, etc.) 'inflammation, boil, pustule', Jud. *būʔā* 'swelling, abscess' (SED I No. 30).

ʔV-

Animal names:

[] Tna. *ʔafāl* 'insects or fleas which live in grass' (< Sem., if Akk. *uplu* 'Kopflaus' is < **ʔupl*- and not < **ʔupl*-) vs. **pVl(y)*- 'kind of insect, louse': Jud. *palyā*, *palyā bēʔāīr* 'name of a locust on palm-trees', Arb. *fāliyat*- 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée', Mhr. *fəlō* 'to delouse', etc. (SED II No. 175). [] Tna. *ʔənṣ/ṣərar* vs. **nVṣVr*- 'cricket': Hbr. pB. *nēšār*, Syr. *nāšorā* (SED II No. 167). [] Arb. *ʔuṣfūr*- 'passerau; tout petit oiseau', Jib. *ʔeṣfērōt* 'bird' (< **ʔVṣpVr*-) vs. Arb. *ṣāfir*- 'espèce de petit oiseau de la famille des passereaux; tout oiseau qui n'est pas oiseau de proie', Jib. *ṣefirōt* 'Vogel' < **sVp(p)Vr*- '(kind of small) bird' (SED II No. 212; *ʔV*- can alternatively be explained by contamination with **ʔVṣṣūr*- 'bird', No. 43). [] Sem. **ʔak(u)ruk(k)*- 'frog': Syr. *ʔakrūkā*, Arb. *ʔukurukḳ*- vs. **kVr(V)r*- id. (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV*-Animal names; cf. also Syr. *yaḳrūrā*). [] Sem. **ʔakrab*- 'scorpion': Hbr. *ʔakrāb*, Arb. *ʔakrab*-, etc. vs. Arb. *ḳaranbā* < Afras. **ḳVrab*:- W. Chad. Galambu *kūrbā* 'ant', C. Chad. Buduma *kīrbābo* 'flea', E. Cush. Burji *ḳórbur-o* (and *ḳóobr-oo* with metathesis) 'scorpion', S. Omot. Ongota *ḳarrābati* 'spider' (SED II No. 31). [] Sem. **ʔig^wal*-/**ʔigl*- 'calf' (Hbr. *ʔēgāl*, Arb. *ʔiḳl*-, etc.) < Afras.? Cf. Egypt. *ʔgny* 'Name einer Stadt bei Esneh (wo die Hathor als Kuh verehrt wird)' (EG I 236; cow depicted) vs. Afras. **gal*:- Sem. Eth. Tgr. *gəlgāl* 'foal (mule, horse)', Amh. *gəlgāl* 'the young of domestic animals (goat, cheep, horse, donkey)', etc., W. Chad. Sayanci *gāl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyēl* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf' (SED II No. 28).

Anatomy:

[] Mhr. *ʔākərmōt*, Hrs. *ʔākərmōt*, Jib. *ʔakərūt* 'pelvis' < MSA **ʔakVrm-ut* vs. Sem. **kVr(V)m*:- Akk. *kirimmu* 'hold, position of the arms of a mother to cradle a small child', Arb. *karmat*- 'tête de l'os du fémur', Amh. *kurma* 'elbow', etc. (SED I No. 149).

Varia:

[] Hbr. *ʔāgōl* 'round' (adj.; HAL 784), Soq. *gāʔlhel* 'rond' (LS 113; metathesis or a case of

infixed -ʕ-?) vs. Syr. *gəlīlā* 'rotundus' (Brock 115), Arb. *ḡullat-*, *ḡallat-*, *ḡillat-* 'boule de fiente' (BK 1 308), Amh. *g^wiləlāt* 'chapiteau, coupole' (Baet 1052) < Afras. **g^walVI-*: Brb. Ghat *ḡiləllaw-ət* 'rond' (Neh 202), Ayr *gələll-ət* 'ê. rond, circulaire' (Aloj 52), etc., W. Chad. Hausa *gūlūlu* 'ball' (Abr Hs 340).

hV-

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *hāḏāyā*, Jud. *br hwdyy*, Mnd. *hadia* vs. Hbr. *dāʔā*, *dayyā*, Jud. *dyyh*, Mnd. *dita* < **daʔy(-at)* 'bird of prey' (SED II No. 64). [] Arb. *habūr-* 'araignée', *habbūr-* 'petite fourmi' vs. **bur-* 'kind of insect': Akk. **būrtu* (in *burt/di šamḫat*) 'caterpillar', Muh. *burā*, etc. 'insect that eats the root of the *āsāt*' (SED II No. 62).

yV-

Animal names:

[] Syr. *yaḡrūrā* vs. **ḡVr(V)r-* 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names). [] Arb. *yaʕfūr-*, *yuʕfūr-* 'gazelle; petit de gazelle ou de biche' vs. *ʕifr-*, *ʕufr-* 'porc, verrat; petit cochon, pourceau' (v. in **yʕVpr-* 'young of ungulate' SED II No. 88). [] Arb. *yaʔmūr-* 'espèce de chamois' vs. *ʔimmar-*, *ʔammar-* 'agneau' < **ʔimmar-* 'lamb' (SED II No. 5). [] Arb. *yaḥmūr-* 'onager' vs. *ḥimār-* 'donkey, onager' < **ḥimār-* 'donkey' (SED II 98). [] Mhr. *yəṭāyl*, Hrs. *yeṭāyl*, Jib. *itʕél* vs. Hbr. *šūʕāl*, Arb. *tuʕāl-*, Jib. *teʕāyl* (< **tVʕVI-* ~ **taʕlab-* 'fox' SED II No. 237). [] Sem.: Akk. *enšūpu* 'a bird', Hbr. *yanšūp* 'ibis' vs. Arb. *nussāf-* 'sorte d'oiseau semblable à l'hirondelle' (v. in **nVšVp-* 'kind of bird' SED II No. 165). [] Sem. **yapan-* 'young bull': Ugr. *ypt*, Arb. *yafanat-*, Gez. *tayfan*, etc. vs. Afras. **fā(?)Vn-* 'bull': Sem. Arb. *fānāt-* 'vache', W. Chad. Montol *fəoŋ*, Siri *te-vni*, C. Chad. Higi-Dakwa *fūnu*, S. Cush. Asa *fāʔanok* 'elephant', (?) Qwadza *fāʔamo* 'buffalo' (cf. SED II No. 250). [] Cf. also Sem. **yarbVr-* 'kind of rodent' (SED II No. 251) where **ya-* seems a secondary extension of the triconsonantal root, though no parallels without **ya-* confirming such analysis have been found so far.

Anatomy:

[] Hbr. *yph* (hitp.) 'to gasp for breath, groan' vs. *pwh* 'to fan, to waft through', pB. *pəḥī* 'blowing out, expiration' < **pḥ/h* 'to breathe, blow, exhale (smell)' (v. in *nV-* Anatomy above; SED I Vb. No. 54)

wV-

Animal names:

[] Tna. *wäyfan*, Amh. *wäyfan*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *wäfen* 'young bull' (< Afras. **wa(y)fān-*? Cf. C. Chad. Gaʔanda *ufāna*, Gude *uwena*, Nzangi *uwune* 'buffalo') vs. Sem. **yapan-* 'young bull': Arb. *yafanat-*, Gez. *tayfan*, etc. (< Afras. **fā(?)Vn-* 'bull' above; v. all the variants of this root in SED II No. 250). [] Gez. *wayṭal* 'kind of wild goat, roe, gazelle', Tna *wäyṭäl* 'ibex' vs. Gez. *ṭali* 'goat, kid', Tna. *ṭäl*, *ṭel* 'goat' < **ṭalay-* 'lamb, kid' (Hbr. *ṭālā*, Arb. *ṭalaⁿ*, *ṭalw-*, etc. in SED II No. 232). [] Sem. **wābil-* 'ram': Hbr. *yōbēl*, Arb. *wābilat-*, etc. (probably < Afras. **y/wābil-*, if Egyp. *ibʕw*

'ovis tragelaphus' is from *yVbVI-) vs. Akk. *būlu* 'herd of cattle, sheep or horses' < Afras. *bVI- 'small cattle': Brb. Gurara Tuat Tidikelt *belli* 'moutons', etc., E. Chad. Lele *bùlóbuló*, Kabalai *bâl*, C. Chad. Boka *bwə̀lə* 'goat', etc., E. Cush. Oromo *bulāl-ē* 'lamb', etc. (cf. SED II No. 245).

Varia:

[] Arb. *wzm* 'payer, acquitter (la dette); éprouver quelques pertes dans son avoir', *wazmat* 'pertes...' (BK 2 1529) < Sem.: Mhr *wəzūm* (JM 434), Jib. *ezúm*, Soq. *ézom* (JJ 295) 'to give, lend' (phonetically and semantically more likely authentic than borrowed from Arb.) vs. Arb. *zām-* 'quart (de toute chose)' (BK 1 1029) < Afras.: W. Chad. Hausa *zāma* 'defraud a person of his proper share' (Barg 1126), C. Chad. Logone *zəm* 'plunder' (cf. Luk Log 127), Buduma *ham* id. (Luk Bud 102), Gude *zəmə* 'cheat, neglect to pay debts' (Hos 296). [] Gez. *wāzēmā*, Tna. Amh. *wazema* 'chants of a vigil, hymns sung on the eve of a holiday' (LGz 624) vs. Gez. *zēmā* 'song, liturgical chant', Tna. Amh. Gur. *zema* 'song, mode of singing', Gez. *zəmmāme*, Tna. Amh. *zemmama* 'rhythm of singing, etc.' (ibid. 638) < Sem.: Syr. *zam* 'susurravit, sonuit' (Brock 198), Mnd. *zmm* 'to hum, resound' (DM 169), *zwm* 'to hum, buzz' (ibid. 164), Arb. *zmzm* 'produire un murmure qu'on peut entendre au loin' (BK 1 1011). [] Sem.: Arb. *wlm* 'donner un repas' (BK 2 1605), Mhr. *awōlem*, Hrs. *awlōm*, Jib. *ulm* 'to prepare a meal' (JH 136; perhaps < Arb.) < Afras. **wlm* 'to eat, feed': Egyp. OK *wnm* 'essen' (EG I 320), E. Chad. Kabalai *wəlmə* 'food' vs. Akk. *lamāmu* 'to chew' (CAD L 59) < Afras. **IVm-* 'to eat, chew': W. Chad. Hausa *lāluma* 'chewing by a toothless mouth' (Barg 717), C. Chad. Mbara *lúm* 'mordre' (TSL 294), Musgu *láma* 'essen, beissen' (Luk Msg 64).

Consonantal Infixation

-n- (cf. Růžicka; some of the examples point to the original *-n-* lost in part of the forms, sometimes - but not always - leaving traces by the reduplication of the following consonant)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *mi/andinu* (and *middinu*, with *-dd-* likely < **-nd-*) 'tiger?' vs. Arb. *ʔal-madīn-* 'lion' (and Ebl. *mu-da-ne-núm?*) in **mV(n)ḏn-* 'a large wild cat' (SED II No. 151; cf. also C. Chad. Afade *maudá* 'Hyäne', E. Chad. Mubi *ʔāmdāwūt* 'cat' likely implying Afras. **maday/w(n)-* 'k. of feline'). [] Aram. Off. *šnpr* 'bird' (Hbr. *šippōr*, Jud. *šippar*, *šippārā*, Syr. *šep̄pārā* can go back to **šinpar-* with **-np-* > *-pp-*) vs. Arb. *šāfir-* 'espèce de petit oiseau', Hrs. *šēferot* 'sandpiper', etc. < **šVp(p)Vr-* '(kind of small) bird' < Afras. **čapVr-*: W. Chad. Mburku *čápūr*, C. Chad. Bura *cəvūr*, Margi *cəvūr* 'guinea fowl' (SED II No. 212). [] Mnd. *anglia* vs. Jud. *ʔēgal*, Syr. *ʔeglā* etc. < **ʔig^wal-* // **ʔigl-* 'calf' (SED II No. 28). [] Arb. *žandab-*, *žundub-* vs. Tna. *g^wādābā* (in **g^wa(n)dab-* // **ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *k^wamanaʔāt*, Amh. *k^wärnānat* vs. Tgr. *korəʃ*, Tna. *k^wərʃo* in **k^wVr(V)r-* 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names). [] N. Eth. **ʔanšaw/y-*: Gez. *ʔanša/e/owā* 'mouse, weasel', Tgr. *ʔ/ʔanšay* 'mouse', Tna. *ʔančəwa* 'mouse, rat' (cf. C. Cush. **ʔinčaw-*, N. Omot. Shinasha *iinčā*, Anfillo *inšo* id.; < Afras. **ʔančVyaw-* or Eth. borrowing into Cush. and Omot.?) vs. Sem. **ʔayaš-*: Akk. *ayāšu* 'weasel', Amh. *ay(ə)ʔ* 'mouse' < Afras. **ʔayač-* 'kind of small mammal': W. Chad. Hausa *čiyō*, E. Cush. Oromo *wawwačoo*, N.

Omot. Basketo *iīci*, Kafa *ičoo* etc. (cf. **ʔayas-* ~ **ʔansawiy-* 'weasel, mouse' SED II No. 26). [] Tna. *gʷändäran*, Amh. *gʷändä/ora* 'k. of worm' (< Afras. **gʷandVr-*? Cf. semantically heterogenous but phonetically impeccable W. Chad. Daffo-Butura *gāndir* 'Eidechse' and E. Chad. Dangla *gōndyir-kō* 'petites termites') vs. Mhr. *gədərēt*, Hrs. *gederēt* 'k. of worm', Jib. *əzdīrēt* 'small insect (which eats clothes, wood)' (cf. **gʷa(n)dVr-* // **gV(n)dVr-* 'kind of worm' SED II No. 81). [] Tgr. *fərnæg*, *fənræg* 'quail' vs. **parg-* 'kind of bird (hen, quail)': Hbr. pB. *pargīt* 'young poultry', Syr. *parrūgā* 'pullus', etc. (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Pero *pārāgō* 'partridge') SED II No. 178. [] Tna. *ʕənḵərəbit* vs. **ʕakrab-* 'scorpion': Hbr. *ʕakrāb*, Gez. *ʕ/ʔakrab*, etc. (SED II No. 31). [] Tna. *ḥəngugu* 'kind of black worm living in water' vs. Jib. *ḥəzōt* (< **ḥag-*) 'large, blind black segmented centipede oftenest seen during the rainy season' (v. **ḥV(n)g-* 'kind of worm, centipede' SED II No. 100). [] Mnd. *ḵunpud*, Arb. *ḵunfud-*, Gez. *ḵʷənfəz*, etc. vs. Jud. *ḵupdā* (and Ebl. *ḵi-pā-šūm*?) in **ḵ(ʷ)inpad-* // **ḵunpud-* 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133; -n- is a root extender or part of the primary root?). [] Arb. *ḥinzīr-*, Gez. *ḥanzir*, Mhr. *ḥənzīr*, Jib. *ḥanzīr* 'pig' (three latter forms may be Arabisms) vs. Akk. *ḥuzīru*, Ugr. */ḥuzīru/*, Hbr. *ḥāzīr*, Jud. *ḥāzīr* etc. (in **ḥV(n)zīr-* 'pig' SED II No. 111). [] Akk. *c/inzu*, Syr. *ʕənez* (st. const.), Arb. *ʕanz(-at)-*, etc. '(she-)goat' vs. Ugr. *ʕz*, Jib. *ʔoz* 'goat', etc. < **ʕVnz-* 'goat' (SED II No. 35; cf. ibid. E. Cush. Saho *ʕidoo*, S. Cush. Asa *ʔando* and other possible Afras. parallels). [] Sem. **ʔa(n)z/dar-* 'kind of feline': Gez. *ʔanzar*, Akk. *azaru* (and *azzaru*, likely pointing to **ʔanzar-*) vs. Afras. **ʔa-ʒ/ʒVr-* id. (SED II No. 9; v. above in *ʔV-* Animal names).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *sinṭ-* 'poignet' vs. Hbr. pB. **sīt* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger', Syr. *sītā* 'palmus' < **si(n)t-* 'flat hand with wrist' (SED I 209). [] Arb. *ḥinṣi/ar-* vs. Hbr. pB. *ḥāṣēr*, Syr. *ḥeṣrā*, Mhr. *ḥəṣərər* 'little finger', etc. (in < **ḥi(n)sVr-* '(little) finger' SED I 134). [] Gez. *kʷərnāʕ*, Tna. *kʷərnaʕ* 'elbow, forearm', Amh. Arg. *kərn* 'elbow' (cf. also Jib. *kərmōʕ* 'heel') vs. Sem. **kʷiṇāʕ-* 'knee and shin-bone; lower leg (of animal)': Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)', Sab. *krʕ* 'leg of a camel', etc. (SED I No. 157). [] Tgr. *sənzər* 'palm', Tna *sānzārā* 'to measure with the span', Amh. Selti Wolane Zway *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti* (prob. also End. *zəssər*, Eža Muh. etc. *zəzzər* if < **zənzər* assim. < **sənzər*) vs. Gez. *səz(ə)r*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *səzər* 'span' (in **šsV(n)zVr-* 'span', SED I No. 251). [] Mod. Eth. **šənfəl(la)* 'ruminant's stomachs' (Tgr. Tna. Amh. Zw. Gog. Sod.) vs. Arb. *mišfālat-* 'gésier, jabot (d'oiseau); estomac', MSA **šafəl* 'belly, stomach' (in **šxV(n)pVl-* 'stomach (of an animal, bird)', SED I No. 271). [] S. Eth. **gandya* (Har. *gānṣa*, Sel. *gānṣä*, Wol. *ganṣä*, Msq. *ganṣa*, prob. Eža *gaṣṣa*) vs. **gadya* (Zw. *gādiyō*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *gaṣa*, End. *gaṣä*) 'tendon of leg' < Sem. **gīd-* 'sinew, nerve' (SED I 72). [] Tgr. *ʕ/ʔanṣābāt* 'sinew' vs. Arb. *ʕaṣab-* 'nerves', Mhr. *ʔāṣbīt* 'sinew, nerve' < Sem. **ʕa(n)sab-* 'sinew, nerves' (SED I No. 16). [] Soq. *ʕaroniḵ* 'mollet' vs. Mhr. *ʔarḵ* 'artery, sinew, nerve', Arb. *ʕirḵ-* 'veine', etc. < Sem. **ʕa/irḵ-* 'tendon, muscle, vein, nerf' (SED I No. 20). [] MSA **kənsīd-* '(top of) shoulder' vs. Akk. *kišādu* 'neck, throat; necklace', Mnd. *kšada* 'throat', Eth. **kəsād* 'neck' < **ki(n)šād-* 'neck, top of shoulder' (SED I No. 147). [] Sem.: Akk. *šernettu* (also *šennettu*, *šennītu*) 'a skin disease', Gez. *šərnəʔt* 'scab, malignant ulcer' vs. Hbr. *šāraʕat* 'skin disease', Jud. *ši/urʕā* 'leprosy' (in **šimay-at-*, SED I No. 257). [] Arb. *šnf* 'avoir la lèvre supérieure relevée,

retroussée', Tgr. *šanəf* 'mouth (of animals)', Tna. *šānfāwä* 'to have disproportionate lips' vs. Akk. *šaptu*, Ugr. *špt*, Hbr. *šāpā*, Syr. *septā*, Arb. *ša/ifat*, etc. 'lip' < Sem. ***sa(n)p-at** (SED I No. 265).

Varia:

[] Amh. *g^wänäddäbä* 'to cut, curve' vs. *g^waddäbä* 'to dig, cut' < Eth. **g^wdb* 'to cut' (LGz 181).

-t-

Animal names:

[] Arb. *taytal* 'vieux bouc de montagnes; espèce d'antilope' vs. *tilal*-, *tilāl*- 'troupe de brebis, ou de brebis mêlée aux chèvres' < ***tVI-** 'head of small cattle': Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *tal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Gez. *nes(ā)tāli* 'serpent-idol of bronze; field snake' vs. Tgr. *näsälāt* 'serpent boa' (in ***?at(h)al-** 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20). [] Tgr. *totāl* 'esp. d'antilope' vs. *ṭālit* (coll. *ṭel*) 'goat' < ***ṭalay-** 'lamb, kid': Hbr. *ṭālā*, Arb. *ṭalaⁿ*, *ṭalw*- 'petit de gazelle' etc. (SED II No. 232).

Anatomy:

[] Eth.: Gez. *maltāḥt* 'cheek, jaw', Tna. *māta/ələḥ* 'temple', *mätalāḥti* 'the upper forepart of the skull' vs. Mhr. *məlhāw* 'jaw, molar tooth', Hrs. *meleḥāw* 'side of the jaw', Jib. *məzḥēt* 'jaw', Soq. *malāḥi* 'cheek' < ***liḥ(a)y(-at)** 'cheek, jaw': Tgr. *ləḥe* 'jaw, molar tooth', Mhr. *lēḥī* 'jaw', Hbr. *ləḥī* 'chin, jawbone, cheek', etc. (SED I No. 178).

-ṣ- (v. also in Maizel 185)

Animal names:

[] Arb. Dof. *fāṣōr* 'bull', Mhr. *fōr*, Jib. *fōṣōr*, Soq. *fāṣhar* 'young bull' vs. ***par-** 'young of small or large cattle': Ugr. *pr* 'young bull', Hbr. *par* 'bull, steer', etc. (SED II No. 181). [] (?) Sem. ***bVṢr-** 'household animal; beast of burden': Hbr. *bəṣīr* 'livestock, cattle', Syr. *bəṣīrā* 'brutum, jumentum', Arb. *baṣīr*- 'chameau; toute bête de charge', Mhr. *bəṣāyr* 'male camel' (< Arb.?), etc. vs. ***bVr-** 'cattle': Akk. *bīru* 'bull (for breeding); young cattle' (less likely < ***bVṢr-**), Mnd. *bira* 'domestic cattle', Mhr. *hə-bēr* 'camels', Hrs. *ḥe-byār* 'female camels' (SED II No. 53). <> Egypt. NK *pṣr-t* 'ein Geflügel (neben Tauben)' (EG I 504) vs. Pyr. *pr* 'ein Vogel' (ibid. 504) < Afras. ***pVr(w)-** 'kind of (small) bird': Sem. Jud. *parwā* 'name of an unclean bird', Gez. *fərfərt* 'quail', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *fērū* 'name of small bird', S. Cush. Iraqw *piryoó* 'small bird sp.' (v. in ***pVpVr-**, ***par/w** 'kind of bird', SED II No. 180).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *lṣk* 'lécher' (BK 2 1003) vs. *lḳk* id. < Sem.: Hbr. *lḳk* 'to lick up, lap', Tgr. *lāḳlāḳä* 'to lick' (HAL 535-6). [] Arb. *dṣs* 'fouler fortement avec les pieds' (BK 1 700) vs. *dws* 'fouler le sol avec les pieds' (ibid. 750) < Sem.: Akk. *d(i)āšu*, Hbr. *dw/yš* 'to trample, thresh', Tgr. *dāwsšäšä* 'to crush' (HAL 218). <> Egypt. MK *wṣr-t* 'Bein' (EG I 287) vs. Afras. ***war-**: Arb. *warr*- 'os de la hanche' (BK 2 1516), W. Chad. Ankwe *warr* 'leg' (ADB; not in Kr and CLR), C. Chad. Musgu *wērē* 'Knie' (Luk Msg 81), S. Cush. Iraqw *uryee* 'backside of upper side of leg, thigh' MQK 113), Burunge *?uuriyoo* 'hips', etc. (KM 310).

Varia:

[] Sem. **kʕd*: Syr. *kʕd* 'inclinavit, flexit (genua)' (Brock 681), Arb. *kʕd* 'é. assis, s'asseoir (après avoir été debout)' (BK 2 776) vs. **kdd*: Akk. *kaḏādu* 'to bow very low, bend', Hbr. *ḵdd* (and *ḵwd*) 'to bow, kneel down' (HAL 1065).

-h- (v. also in Maizel 185-6)

Animal names:

[] Arb. *šayham* 'porc-épic' vs. Akk. *ušummu*, *šummu* 'Gartenschläfer', Arb. *šīm*- (pl.) 'rat' (v. in **sVm*- 'kind of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] (?) Arb. *rahw*- 'crane' vs. Hbr. *rāʔā* 'red kite', Tgr. *rawya* 'stork', Tna. *rawya* 'kind of very large vulture; falcon, sparrow hawk, kite' in **raʔ/wly*- 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 187; otherwise to be interpreted as a case of root variation with -h- vs. -ʔ- vs. -w/y-). [] Gez. *nəhb*, Tgr. *nəhəb*, Tna. *nəhbi* vs. Sem. **nūb(-at)*- 'bee': Akk. *nūbtu*, Arb. *nūb*- etc. (SED II No. 156). [] Gez. *kʷāhilā* 'fox-like animal' vs. Sem. **kalb*- 'dog', supposedly < **kal-b*- < Afras. **kVI*- 'wolf, dog, fox': Brb. Ayr *ā-kūlen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Gudu *kūləm* 'hyena', Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kələ* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kulkō* 'cynhyène', N. Cush. Beja *takʷla* 'Wolf; Lycaon pictus', etc. (v. SED II No. 115). [] Tna. *gahret* 'doe antelope' (for the laryngeal in the same root probably implying Afras. **g(w)arh*-, cf. Brb. Zenaga *əgrərḥ* 'bélier', E. Chad. Kera *agerhe* 'Esel', S. Cush. Burunge *gwereha*, Gorowa Alagwa *gwerehe* 'dikdik antelope') vs. Tgr. *gärwa* 'kudu antelope', Akk. *gurratu*, *agurratu* 'ewe' < Sem. **gVw/w(-at)*- 'small hoofed animal' < Afras. **gʷar*-, **garw*- (SED II No. 85). [] Tgr. *wuhər*, pl. *ʔawhər*, *ʔawhərät* 'bull' (LH 427) vs. Afras. **war*:- Egyp. MK *wr-t* 'göttliche Kuh' (EG I 331), W. Chad. Hausa *wariyya* 'a k. of antelope' (Barg 1084; cf. *warari* 'a vicious bull' ibid.), E. Cush. Sidamo *war-aamo* 'older calf' (HEC 35). [] Mhr. *ləhāytən*, Hrs. *ləhētəh* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhóti*, Soq. *ʔélheh* 'cow' vs. Sem. **liʔ(-at)*-, **laʔay-at*- 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu* (*lītu*) 'cow', Arb. *lāʔa*ⁿ 'taureau sauvage, buffle', *laʔāt*- 'vache sauvage' (SED II No. 142; otherwise to be interpreted as a ? ~ h root variation case). [] Sem. **ʔathal*:- Syr. *ʔatehləyā*, Tgr. *ʔashalät* 'dragon', Tna. *ʔashalät* 'mythical creature of immense size, like a crocodile in appearance; python' (-h- is probably a primary, not inserted, radical, cf. Brb. **HaššVI*- '(large) snake': Ghat *ašil*, Ahaggar *āššel*, etc., Omot. **haylaš*- with metathesis: Wolayta *aylaaš*-, Gemu *haylašo*, Gofa *haaylašo*, Ari *hayleša* 'crocodile') vs. **ʔatal*:- Syr. *ʔātalyā* 'dragon', Tna. *ʔasälät* 'mythical creature of immense size, like a crocodile in appearance; python' (< Afras. **ʔačal*-. Cf. S. Cush. Dahalo *taʔala* 'puff-adder' (EEN 8), likely < **čaʔal*- with metathesis), v. **ʔat(h)al*- 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20. [] (?) Sem. **pahd*- 'cheetah': Syr. *pahdā* 'panther', Mnd. *pahad* 'cheetah', Arb. *fahd*- 'guepard', etc. vs. Egyp. OK *mʔfd.t* 'karzenartiges Tier mit scharfen Krallen (Art Gepard?)' (< **mV-ʔVfVd*- or **ma-fVd*-, with ʔ standing for -a-?); a striking semantic coincidence makes this comparison interesting in spite of only a partial formal similarity.

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *lhs* 'lécher' (BK 2 1032; < Sem. if Akk. *lāšu* 'to taste, lick' is < **lhš* and not < **lhš*, cf. Arb. *lhs* 'lécher' BK 2 973 and Eth. **lhs* 'to lick' LGZ 311) vs. *lss* 'lécher, manger' (BK 2 989), *lws* 'gôûter, tourner un morceau dans la bouche' (ibid. 1041). [] Jib. *gēheʔ* 'chest, breast', Soq. (Noged) *gēheʔ* id. vs. Jud. *gawwā* 'belly, innermost', Arb. *žuʔžuʔ*- (redupl.) 'poitrine', etc. < Sem.

**gaw(w)i?* or **g^way(y)a?* (front part of) body; chest, belly; interior' (SED I No. 99).

Varia:

[] Hbr. pB. *mhl* 'to circumcize' (Ja 373) vs. Hbr. *mwl*, *mll* id. (HAL 555, 594). [] Arb. *kahd* 'peine, fatigue' (ibid. 938; cf. *khd* 'se mettre à courir vite (se dit d'un âne)' ibid.) vs. *kadd* 'travail, peine, fatigue' (< *kdd* 'travailler; se fatiguer à force de travailler' BK 2 872). [] Arb. *ths* 'entrer sous terre, disparaître' (BK 2 115) vs. *ṭss* 'plonger (dans l'eau); s'en aller, disparaître' (ibid. 80; cf. *mā ?adri ?ayna ṭassa* 'Je ne sais pas ce qu'il est devenu' ibid. and *mā ?adri ?ayna ṭahasa* id. ibid. 115). [] Arb. *ḡhd* 'travailler avec assiduité, avec zèle, faire des efforts' (BK 1 341) vs. *ḡdd* 'agir avec zèle et assiduité, s'efforcer de...' (ibid. 259), perhaps related to Eth. **gdd* 'to force, compel' (cf. LGz 181). [] Arb. *mhd* 'étendre également', *mahhada* 'étendre comme un tapis' (BK 2 1160) vs. *mdd* id. (ibid. 1075) < Sem.: Soq. *med* 'étendre', etc. (LS 238). [] Arb. *lht* 'frapper, atteindre quelqu'un d'une flèche' (BK 2 1033) vs. *lwṭ* id. (ibid. 1041). [] Arb. *dhk* 'couper en morceaux; briser en serrant; frapper, battre' (BK 1 742) vs. *dkk* 'ê. pilé, broyé fin; casser, concasser; battre, frapper' (ibid. 715) < Sem. **dkk*: Akk. *dukkuku*, Hbr. *daḳ*, Gez. *daḳaḳa* 'to crush', Soq. Mhr. *daḳḳ* 'to pound', etc. (v. in LGz 140). [] Arb. *dhk* 'briser, broyer; moudre; fouler le sol' (BK 1 743) vs. *dkk* 'concasser, piler, broyer' < Sem. **dkk*: Akk. Lex. *dakāku* 'to crush' (CAD D 34), Hbr. *dk* (pi.), **dkk* 'to crush' (HAL 221), Soq. *dekdek* 'to beat', etc. (v. in LGz 140). [] Arb. *dahr* 'temps, âge, siècle' (BK 1 741) vs. *dawr* 'period', Akk. *dāru* 'eternity' (otherwise < **dahr*-), Hbr. *dōr* 'cycle, lifetime, generation', etc. (HAL 217). [] Arb. *rhk* 'fatiguer une femme par la violence de coit', *?irtahaka* 'ê. mou, lâche, n'avoir pas de vigueur' (BK 1 940) vs. *rkk* 'ê. très-mince; ê. très-faible, très chetif; tourmenter et fatiguer' (ibid. 911-2) < Sem.: Hbr. *rkk* 'to be tender, gentle; to be timid, faint-hearted', Syr. *rak* 'to be soft', etc. (HAL 1236-7). [] Arb. *mahīn* 'faible, débile; méprise' (BK 2 1164) vs. Gez. *manana* 'be insignificant, incomplete, lack', Tna. *mānmānā*, Amh. *mānāmmānā* 'become lean or emaciated' (LGz 351) < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *mānyò*, Tumak *mōnī* (Bla EC), S. Cush. Dahalo *?āmīna* (EEN 20), Ma?a *m?inyī* (Bla-Tos), N. Omot. Mao (Bambeshi) *amintə* (Bnd Om 279) 'small', S. Omot. Ongota *munna?enə* 'small, narrow' (SLLE 10). [] Sem. **bht* 'to be ashamed': Akk. *ba?āšu* (likely < **bht*) 'to come to shame' (CAD B₁ 5), Ugr. *bht* 'vergüenza' (DLU 106), Syr. *bht* 'puduit eum; confusus, perturbatus est', *behtotā* 'pudor' (Brock 61-2), Arb. *bahtat* 'fils de prostituée' (BK 1 170; cf. *bht* 'accueillir qqn. avec un visage riant' ibid.) vs. **bwt* 'to be ashamed': Ugr. *bt* 'avergonzarse' (DLU 123), Hbr. *bwš* 'to be ashamed', *būšā*, Emp. Arm. *bwt* 'shame' (HAL 116-7) < Afras. **bVwič*- '(feminine) pudenda': Brb. Siwa *bašša* (Lao 314), Semlal *bəssi* (Dest 288), Rif Iznassen *a-bəts-un* (Ren 291) 'vagin', N. Cush. Beja *bus* 'hinterbacken, podex' (RBeḍ 52), E. Cush. Saho Afar *bus* 'die weibliche Scham' (RAf 831), Hadiya *bisso* 'vagina' (HEC 161). [] Sem. **nahār* 'light, day': Hbr. *nəhārā* 'light', Syr. Jud. *nūhərā* '(gleam of) light' (HAL 677), Arb. *nahār* 'jour, journée' (BK 2 1354) vs. **nVr*- 'light, fire': Akk. *namāru* (*nawāru*) 'to shine brightly' (CAD N₁ 209), Ugr. *nr* 'brillar; brillo, resplendor' (DLU 331), Hbr. *nīr* 'light, lamp' (HAL 697), Arb. *nūr* 'lumière' (BK 2 1365). [] Sem. **khn* 'to be/act as a priest': Ugr. *khn* 'sacerdote' (DLU 212), Hbr. *khn* 'to act as a priest', Syr. *khn* (pe.) id. (HAL 461), Mnd. *khn* 'to serve as priest' (DM 205), Arb. *khn* 'ê. devin, aruspice, prêtre; prédire l'avenir' (BK 2 940) vs. Afras. **ki/an*- 'to know': W. Chad. Kirfi *kinn*- 'to know' (Stolb Ms), E.

Chad. Mokilko *kónyà* 'le savoir; la capacité' (JMkk 125), N. Cush. Beja *kān-* 'kennen, wissen' (RBeḍ 142), C. Cush. **kin-t-* 'to learn', E. Cush. Hadiya *ken-* 'to know' (v. Dolg 1973 212-3 where the above Cush. forms are compared to Sem. **khn*; other comparisons are less convincing).

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Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *ḱurpəday* 'mole' vs. Hbr. *ḱippōd*, pB. *ḱuppād*, Jud. *ḱupdā*, etc. in **ḱ(ʷ)inpad-* // **ḱurpud-* 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133). [] Hbr. *ṣəpardēʿ* vs. Arb. *ḍifdiʿ-* (in **ṣVpardīʿ-* 'frog', SED II No. 22; otherwise interpreted, -r- is a primary radical preserved in Hebrew but lost in other languages). [] Jud. *ʿurzilā* (and *ʿurzilā*) vs. ʿwzl, Syr. *ʿūzaylā* < **yVzāl-* 'gazelle': Arb. *ʿazāl-* etc. (SED II No. 92). [] Syr. *ḥarpuštā* 'scarabaeus niger' vs. Jud. *ḥippūsītā*, *ḥpwšytʿ* 'scarabee, beetle' (in SED II No. 96 **ḥVbVšx-* 'kind of insect'; cf. also No. 104 **ḥarSap-* 'young of animals, larva': Akk. *ḥarsapnu*, Arb. *ḥaršaf-*).

Anatomy:

[] Aram. **garmīdā*: Jud. *garmīdā* 'arm, elbow, cubit', Syr. *ga/ūrmīdā*, *gūrmīdā* 'cubitus, ulna', Mnd. *garmidia* 'two cubits' vs. Hbr. *gōmād* 'a linear measure, short cubit', likely < **kVm(V)d-* 'forearm, cubit' (SED I No. 144): Akk. *gamatu* 'a measure' (< **gamattu* < **gamad-t-u* or < **gamadu* with -ad- mistaken for the -at- suffix), (?) Arb. *kumuddat-* 'verge, penis', Amh. *kənd* 'cubit (distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, appr. 48 cm.); arm, forearm', Gaf. *kəndä* 'bras', Mhr. *məkəndēt* 'big toe, thumb', Jib. *mišəndət* 'thumb, big toe'. [] Mod. Eth. **brək* 'to spit out, vomit, squirt': Tgr. *bärčäkä* 'to spit out, to squirt through the lips', Tna. *bəřəkčək bäl* 'to feel nauseous, want to vomit', Amh. *tän/mboraččäkä* 'to spray, splatter (water being poured into a container)' vs. **bək* 'to spit' (cf. SED I Vb. No. 7): Arb. *bək* 'cracher', Sel. *bəčək bälä* 'to spit'. [] S. Eth. **mərək* 'to spit in a spurt': Har. *mičirik āša*, Gog. *məčərək bea* (and other Gur. dialects in LGur 390) vs. **mərək* 'to spit, spirt': Har. *mičirik āša* 'to squeeze something so that it spurts', Gog. Sod. *mičirik *balä* 'to spit in a spurt' (ibid. 389). [] Sem **ḥarṭūm- ~ *ḥurṭimm-* 'long nose, beak, trunk, snout' (cf. differently in SED I No. 137): (?) Akk. *ḥurṭimmu* 'snout, muzzle' (-ṭt < * -rt-?), Hbr. pB. *ḥarṭōm* 'nose, beak', Syr. *ḥarṭūmā* 'proboscis (elephanti)', Mnd. *ḥarṭum(a)* 'long bill, nose, snout, trunk', Arb. *ḥurṭum-*, *ḥurṭūm-* 'nez, bout du nez, tronc de l'éléphant, etc.' vs. **ḥu/aṭm-* 'nose, snout, muzzle, beak' (cf. differently in SED I No. 139): Ugr. *ḥṭm* 'nariz', Hbr. pB. *ḥōṭām* 'the distinctive feature of the face, nose, nostril', Jud. *ḥuṭmā* id., Arb. *ḥaṭm-* 'bec, museau' (note **ḥarṭūm- ~ *ḥurṭimm-* 'long prominent nose, trunk' vs. **ḥu/aṭm-* 'nose'). [] Sem. **ka/urka/ub-* 'stomach (of animals, birds)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 167): (?) Akk. *kukkubātu*, *kukkubānu*, *kuḱḱubātu*, *kuḱḱubānu* 'part of the animal stomach' (< **ḱurḱubān/tu* or **ḱubḱubān/tu*), Hbr. pB. *ḱorḱəbān* 'the thick muscular stomach of birds, crow', Jud. *ḱurḱəbānā* id., Syr. *ḱarḱəbānā*, *ḱurḱəbānā* 'guttur, ingluvies (avis)', Arb. *ḱarḱab-*, *ḱurḱub-*, *ḱurḱubb-* 'ventre' vs. **ḱVb-at-* 'stomach, ventricle, maw (of animals)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 158): Hbr. *ḱēbā* 'abomasum, stomach', Jud. *ḱēbətā* 'maw', *ḱybh* 'stomach', Arb. *ḱibat-*, *ḱibbat-* 'ventricule', *ḱabḱab-* (redupl.) 'ventre' (cf. also *ḱabḱāb-* 'vagin'), Tgr. *ḱābbāt* 'a stuffed goat's stomach', Tna. *ḱobo* 'hernia'. [] Sem. **ḱVrs/š(-ull)-* 'ankle' (cf. in SED I No. 169): Hbr. **ḱarsullayim* 'ankles'

(dual), Jud. *ḵarsullā*, *ḵarsulā* 'ankles', Syr. *ḵurṣālā* 'talus; ala, axilla', Tgr. *ḵarso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənḵərša* 'ankle', Gog. Sod. *ənḵərša*, Mhr. *ḵərṣāt* 'kneecap' (-ā-points either to *-aw or to *-al) vs. ***ḵ(w)Vṣ-**, ***ḵ(w)Vṣṣ-** 'joint, point of connection between bones' (cf. SED I No. 172): (?) Akk. *kimṣu*, *kinṣu*, *kiṣṣu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg', Arb. *ḵaṣāṣ-*, *ḵuṣāṣ-*, *ḵiṣāṣ-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *ḵaṣāṣ-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *ḵaṣṣ-*, *ḵuṣaṣ-* id. (cf. *ḵays-* 'verge, pénis', with a plausible meaning shift 'joint' > 'penis'), Gez. *ḵwəyṣ*, *ḵwəṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', (?) Amh. *ḵəṭay* 'joint of foot', Gye. *ḵəṭəyā* 'joint of foot', Soq. *mīḵṣeh* 'articulation, falangue'. [] Sem. ***ḵ(w)āf-** 'knee and shinbone; lower leg (of animal)' (SED I No. 157): Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)' (cf. *kirru*, *kerru* 'the region extending from the throat to and including the clavicles'), Hbr. *kərāʿayim* (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. *karfā* 'knee, leg', Syr. *kərāʿā* 'crus', Mnd. *kraia* 'foot, leg', Arb. *kurāʿ-* 'partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou; os du tibia', Sab. *krʿ* 'leg of a camel', Gez. *kʷərnāʿ* 'elbow, forearm', Tna. *kʷərnaʿ* 'elbow', Amh. *kərn* 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. *kərra* 'arm, elbow', Har. *kuruʿ* 'cubit, arm', Sel. *kəre*, Wol. *həri*, Zw. *hərə* 'arm, cubit, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. *kərrā* id. vs. ***ḵu/af(-at)-** or ***ḵʷaf(-at)-** 'joint; ankle; foot' (SED I No. 140): Syr. *kōʿā* 'articulus', Arb. *kāʿ-*, *kūʿ-* 'condyle, surtout os de la main qui touche au puce ou au doigt articulaire; os de la cheville du pied, extrémité de l'os *zindʿ*', Amh. *kotte* 'foot, hoof (of a horse)', Sod. *kotte* 'hoof'.

Varia:

[] Syr. *dardūkē* 'pueri' (Brock 166), Jud. *dardaḵ* 'tender, young, small (esp. pupil of a primary class)' (Ja 321), Mnd. *dirdiḵia* 'small, little, young (children)' (DM 101), Arb. *dardaḵ-* 'enfants, petits de chameaux, etc.' (BK 1 688; supposedly an Aramaism, v. DM 101) vs. Sem. ***dḵḵ** 'to be small (of a child)': Akk. *daḵḵu* 'small (child)' (CAD D 107), Ugr. *dḵ* 'pequeño, fino; débil' (DLU 135), Gez. *dḵḵ* 'to be small, to be a child' (LGz 140; unseparated ibid. from Sem. ***dḵḵ** 'to crush, pound, reducer to powder' which I prefer to treat as a homonym). [] Jud. *ʿarəggēl* 'to roll' (Ja 1113), Syr. *ʿargel* 'volvit, volutavit' (Brock 547) vs. Jud. *ʿgl* 'to be round' (Ja 1041) < Sem.: Hbr. *ʿāgōl* 'round' (HAL 784), Tgr. *ʿāggälā* 'to put in a circle' (LH 487), etc. [] Sem. ***ḵrṭb** 'to be prickly, sharp': Syr. *ḵūrṭəbā* 'tribulus (planta)' (Brock 695), Arb. *ḵrṭb* 'couper les os' (BK 2 715), Gez. *ḵərṭəb* 'kind of insect that stings or eats leaves and bark' (LGz 445) vs. Arb. *ḵṭb* 'couper, partager en coupant' (BK 2 754), *ḵuṭb-* 'thorn' (LGz 453, HAL 1092 after Brock 695; not in BK), Gez. *ḵaṭaba* 'to make a mark, trim, shorten' (LGz 453), etc. [] Sem. ***ḵrṣb**: Arb. *ḵrḍb* 'couper; manger des choses sèches, croquer' (BK 2 714), Soq. *ḵārḍeb* 'mordre' (LS 387) vs. Arb. *ḵḍb* 'couper' (BK 2 759) < Sem.? Cf. Hbr. *ḵṣb* 'to cut off', otherwise related to Arb. *ḵṣb* id. (HAL 1119). [] Sem. ***grdm** 'to cut, split': Hbr. pB. *grdm* 'to cut off, lop' (Ja 266), Syr. *ʿetgardam* 'mutilatus est' (Brock 132), (?) Arb. *ḡrdm* 'manger, dévorer' (BK 1 278; a meaning shift 'cut off' > 'bite off' > 'eat'?), Tna. *gʷärdämä* 'to break', etc. (v. in LGz 182-3) vs. Sem. ***gdm** 'to cut': Akk. *gadāmu* 'to cut off hair' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdm* 'to lop off, stump' (Ja 213), Syr. *gdm* 'cecidit, abscidit' (Brock 105), Arb. *ḡdm* 'couper, retrancher' (BK 1 266), Tgr. *gəddom* 'pickaxe' (LH 599).

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Animal names:

[] Akk. *ḫulmiṭtu* 'a snake or lizard' (Syr. *ḫulmāṭā* 'large lizard' is probably an Akkadism) vs. Hbr. *ḥōmāt* 'reptile', Jud. *ḥumṭā* 'chameleon', Arb. *ḥamaṭīṭ*- 'serpent' < ~~*hVm(V)t-~~ (SED II No. 99).

Anatomy:

[] Syr. *zulbānā*, *zālūbānā* 'veretrum (cervi et equi)' vs. ~~*zubb-~~ '(male) genitalia': Hbr. pB. *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member', Arb. *zubb-* 'verge, pénis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle)' (SED I No. 293). [] Soq. *gēlmes* 'dent' (LS 109) vs. *gīmses* 'qui a des dents tordue' (ibid. 111).

Varia:

[] Sem. ~~*blṭh~~ (unless the MSA forms are Arabisms): Arb. *blṭh* (and *bldh*) 'ê. couché à terre' (BK 1 161), Mhr. *ənbaltəḥ* (JM 49), Hrs. *enbelṭāḥ* (JH 17), Jib. *ənbəḥṭāḥ* 'to lie down' (JJ 26), Soq. *enbāḥṭeh* id. (JH 17) vs. Sem. ~~*bṭh~~: Hbr. *bṭh* 'to fall on the ground' (HAL 120) Arb *bṭh* 'renverser, faire tomber quelqu'un la face contre terre' (BK 1 135), Jib. *bōṭṭāḥ* 'to lie down on the belly on the soil' (JJ 30), Soq. *bṭh* 'se coucher, s'étendre' (LS 85).

Consonantal Suffixation

~~-(V)n~~ (cf. Barth 316-45, GVG 389-96)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *kaḫānu*, Ebl. *ku-ḫi-a-nu-um* 'a bird' (cf. also Arm. Tur. *kaḫwonḥto* 'partridge', etc. unless *w* < **b*) vs. Sem. ~~*k(w)aʔ(ḫ(w)aʔ)- // *kaʔ(ḫaʔ)-~~ 'kind of bird': Akk. *kaḫū* 'a bird', Jud. *kā(?)kā(?)* 'goose', *kāḫā*, Syr. *kāḫā* 'pelican', Amh. *koḫ* 'partridge', etc. < Afras. ~~*k^{wa}ʔ/y(k^{wa}ʔ/y)-~~ 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 126). [] Akk. *ḫarsapnu* (*ḫarasapnu*, *ḫarsapanu*) vs. Arb. *ḫaršaf-* < ~~*ḫarSap-~~ 'young of animals, larva' (SED II No. 104). [] Akk. *bukānu* (*bukannu*) 'an insect or worm' vs. Hbr. pB. *bukyā* 'the spider', Tna. *bəkk^w* 'gnawing insect, worm', etc. < ~~*bik(w)ay- // *bukay-~~ 'kind of insect or worm' (SED II No. 57). [] Akk. *miḫḫānu*, *meḫiḫānu* 'a louse affecting cloth, animals and people' vs. Jud. *maḫḫāk* 'k. of worm or insect', Arb. *mūḫ-* 'sorte de fourmi ailée' < ~~*mVḫ(Vḫ)-~~ 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 150). [] Akk. *šammānu* 'a snake' vs. Hbr. *šəməāmīt* (var. *šəməāmīt*) 'gecko', Arb. *sāmm-* (in *sāmm- ʔabraṣ-*) 'espèce de gros lézard' < ~~*šsVmm-~~ 'kind of reptile (snake, lizard)' (SED II No. 204). [] Akk. *zizānu* 'a locust' vs. Hbr. *zīz* 'the small creatures that ruin the fields', Arb. *zīz-* (pl. *zīzān-*) 'cigale', etc. < ~~*zīz-~~ 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 255). [] Akk. *tišānu* 'a (wild) ram' (cf. *tušēnu*, *tešēnu* 'eine Art Büffel?'), Ebl. *ti-sa-na* id. (the interpretation of both Akk. and Ebl. terms is debatable) vs. Sem. ~~*taysš-~~ 'he-goat': Hbr. *tayiš*, Arb. *tays-*, etc. (SED II No. 231). [] Akk. *dimānu* 'an insect' (cf. W. Chad. Hausa *dāmanā* 'spider' and Egypt. *dnm* 'Würmer (welche die Leiche fressen)', perhaps metathetically related; one wonders whether these forms imply Afras. ~~*dVman-~~ or are accounted for by independent morphonological processes in the three languages) vs. Sem. ~~*dim-~~ 'kind of insect': Akk. *dimītu* 'a locust or bird' (CAD D 143), 'eine Art Heuschrecke?' (AHw 170), Arb. *dimm-at-* 'pou; fourmi' < Afras. ~~*dVm-~~ 'kind of insect': Egypt. *dm* 'Wurm', E. Chad. Tumaḳ *dēm* 'abeille' (SED II No. 69). [] Ebl.

nu-bí-a-núm vs. Akk. *nūbtu*, Arb. *nūb-* (pl.), etc. < ***nūb(-at)** 'bee' (SED II No. 156; v. in **-h** Animal names). [] Ebl. *lí-a-núm* (= Sum. ALIM 'bull'; note *-n-* as a marker of the male animal; for *-ān-* as a masculine marker in Sem. v. GVG I 392 and Gelb 1969 37ff.) vs. Ebl. *lí-a-tum* (= Sum. ALIM.SAL; note the feminine gender), Arb. *laʔāt-* 'vache sauvage', *lāʔaⁿ* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', Akk. *littu* (*lītu*), etc. in ***liʔ(-at)**, ***laʔay-at** 'head of large cattle' (SED II No. 142). [] Hbr. *šəpīpōn*, Jud. *šəpīpōnā* (likely a Hebraism) vs. Syr. *šappāpā*, Arb. *siff-*, *suff-*, etc. < ***šVpp-** 'kind of snake, worm, insect larvae' (SED II No. 207). [] Hbr. *dīšōn* 'aurochs' (cf. Akk. *ditānu*, *didānu* id. with irregular correspondences of the second radical) vs. Akk. *daššu* (also *taššu*) 'buck (said of gazelles and goats)' < Afras.: N. Cush. Beja *dees* 'young gazelle', N. Omot. Wolayta Gamo Kullo *dešša*, Gofa Zala Koyra Chara *deesā*, Dorze Cancha *dešš*, Malo *deše*, Dače *deyšše*, Basketo *daysā*, Kachama *deyše* 'goat' (v. in SED II No. 231 ***taysš-** 'he-goat'). [] Hbr. *ʔozniyyā* 'an unclean bird: sea eagle³', Syr. *ʔznʔ* 'avis rapacis species' vs. Hbr. pB. *ʔōz* 'name of a bird, prob. black eagle', Syr. *ʔizyā* 'ardea cinerea', etc. < ***ʔVz-** 'bird of prey' (SED II No. 51). [] Syr. *purtaʔnā*, Jud. *purtaʔnā*, Mal. *furtʔnō* vs. Akk. *peršaʔu*, Hbr. *parʔōš* etc. < ***pVryVt-~*pVrtay-** 'flea' (SED II No. 185). [] Jud. *rēmānā* vs. Akk. *rīmu* (*rēmu*, *riʔmu*), Hbr. *rəʔēm* etc. < ***rīʔm-** 'wild bull' (SED II No. 186). [] Jud. *ʔurdəʔān*, Sam. *ʔrdʔn* vs. Jud. *ʔurdəʔā*, Syr. *ʔurdəʔā* (with dissimilation), Hbr. *šəpardēāʔ* (pl.), etc. < ***šVpardif-** 'frog' (SED II No. 222). [] Jud. *šumšəmanā*, Syr. *šawšəmanā*, Mnd. *šušmana* vs. Arb. *sumsum-* < ***šumšum-** 'ant' (SED II No. 205). [] Arm.: Jud. *hōgānā*, *hōgənā* 'young camel or dromedary' (Ja 337), Syr. *hūgnō gamlō* 'dromedarius', in fabul. aram. 'asinus' (Brock 171) vs. Afras. ***hug-**: Brb. Ahaggar *āhug* 'poulain' (Fouc 529), Ayr *əhug* id. (Aloj 77), etc. (v. Kossm 101), N. Cush. Beja *hig* '3 years old camel' (B1 FB 12), E. Cush. Burji *hogom-áy* 'horses' (Sas Burji 99). [] Arb. *daybarān-* 'guêpe' vs. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', *dabr-*, *dibr-* 'essaim (d'abeilles ou de frelons)' < ***di/ab(b)ūr-** 'bee, wasp' (SED II No. 66). [] Arb. *dayažān-* 'grande nuée de sauterelles' vs. Tna. *duga* 'a kind of reddish fly which afflicts cows', Mhr. *dəgdīg* 'insect like a grasshopper', etc. < ***dVg-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 67). [] Arb. *hunzuwānat-* 'mouche qui s'attaque au chameau' vs. Akk. *hanzizītu* 'a green winged insect', Tna. *hənʔəʔ*, etc. < ***hVnz(i/uz)-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Arb. *silkānat-* 'poussin de perdix' vs. Hbr. *šālāk* 'an unclean bird' < ***šVI(V)k-** 'kind of bird', probably < Afras.: E. Chad. Kera *súlku*, Kwang *súlkō*, Mobu *sùlgó* 'guinea-fowl' (SED II No. 203). [] Arb. *sumānat-*, *sumānā* 'espèce de caille' vs. *samāmat-* 'sorte de petit oiseau semblable à l'hirondelle' vs. Sem. ***sVm(V)m(-at)** 'kind of bird': Akk. *summu*, *summatu* etc. 'dove' (SED II No. 196). [] Arb. *ʔaffawān-* 'vipère mâle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general term *ʔaffaⁿ* 'vipère'; one wonders whether what seems *-n* suffixed in Amh. *əffuññət*, *fuññət* 'viper' points to a common Arb.-Amh. protoform with **-n* or rather to a different origin of the latter in each case) vs. Sem. ***ʔapfaw-**: Hbr. *ʔəpʔā* 'kind of snake', etc. (SED II No. 10). [] Arb. *ʔukru(b)bān-* 'scorpion mâle' vs. *ʔakrab-*, *ʔakrab-at-*, *ʔakrabāʔ-* 'scorpion femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked feminine *ʔakrab-* and two marked feminine forms) < Sem. ***ʔakrab-** 'scorpion': Ugr. *ʔkrb*, Hbr. *ʔakrāb*, etc. (SED II No. 31). [] Arb. *ḏibʔān-* 'hyène mâle', *ḏibʔānat-* 'hyène femelle' vs. *ḏabuʔ-*, *ḏabʔ-* 'hyène', *ḏabuʔat-* 'hyène femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general

term *ḍab(u)ʿ*- and feminine *ḍabuʿat-* < Sem. ***ṣab(u)ʿ**- 'hyena': Hbr. *ṣābūʿ*, etc. (SED II No. 220). [] Arb. *ḍaywan-* 'chat mâle, matou' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal) vs. Hbr. *ṣī* 'animals of the desert' < ***ṣayw-** 'wild cat' (SED II No. 224). [] Arb. *ḡirdawn-* (also Mhr. *gərdīn*, Hrs. *gerdīn* 'rat, mouse', likely Arabisms) vs. *ḡurad-* 'espèce de gros rat des champs', Syr. *gārōdā* 'castor' < ***gVrVd(-Vn)-** 'kind of rodent' < Afras. **g^wVrḡ-*: Brb. Shawiya *a-g^werziz*, etc. 'hare' (SED II No. 84). [] Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan* 'a kind of black ant' vs. Arb. *ḡudḡud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle' (also Ebl. *gú-du-gú-du-wu-um* ?) in ***g^wa(n)dab-** // ***ga(n)dab-** 'cricket, locust' (SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *k^warnanaʿāt*, Amh. *kərnānot* 'frog' (< Afras.? Cf. Chad. **k/kVr-Vn-* id.: W. Chad. Ngizim *kərinākáu*, E. Chad. Birgit *ʔāngūkūrūnā*, C. Chad. Daba *kīrriḡ*, Mofu-Gudur *kakəraḡ*) vs. Sem. ***kVr(V)r-** 'frog' (v. in **ʔV-** Animal names) < Afras. **kVr-* id.: Egyp. *krr*, Brb. Rif *aḡarḡur*, etc., N. Omot. Zaysse *ʔookkaro*, etc. (in SED II No. 137). [] Gez. *kəradīn*, *kərdān* 'field mouse' vs. Brb. **kard-* 'rat': Fojaha *yərdé*, Rif *ayarda*, Mzab Shawiya Qabyle Shilh *ayerda*, etc. (v. in ***gVrVd(-Vn)-** 'kind of rodent' SED II No. 84). [] Tgr. *gərḡən*, pl. *gäräggən* 'cub of lions or of leopards' (< **garg-Vn*; unless dissim. < **gurgur*) vs. ***gūr- ~ *gury/w-** 'whelp, cub': Hbr. *gūr*, Arb. *ḡurw-*, etc. (SED II No. 82). [] Amh. *wāl(l)ani* 'Walia ibex' vs. *waliya*, *wala* id. < ***wafil-** 'ibex': Gez. *wəʔəḷā*, Arb. *waʔl-*, etc. (SED II No. 244). [] Amh. *šālan* 'marten, ferret' vs. *šāla* id. (v. in ***tVʔVl- ~ *taʔlab-** 'fox' SED II No. 237). [] Eḡa *wizännä* 'kind of a bird' and similar Gur. forms vs. ***ʔaw(a)z- ~ *w**

az(z)- 'goose': Syr. *wazzā*, Arb. *ʔiwazz-*, *wazz-*, etc. (SED II No. 22). [] Mhr. *fərháyn*, Hrs. *ferhín* (< **fVrsīn*) vs. ***paraš-** 'horse': Hbr. *pārāš*, Arb. *fāras-*, etc. (SED II No. 182). [] Sem.: Syr. *ʔarwānā* 'vitulus, vitula', Arb. *ʔirān-* 'oryx mâle' vs. Amh. *awra* 'male (animal), bull', etc. < ***ʔi/arwān- ~ *ʔawr-** 'calf, bull' < Afras. **ʔa/irw- ~ *ʔawr-* 'calf, bull': Egyp. MK *ʔir-t* 'Kalb', W. Chad. Sha *ʔarwā* 'Ochse', E. Cush. Bayso *aar*, Arbore *ʔaar*, Burji *arr-áy* 'bull', Sidamo *waʔr-iččo* 'older calf', etc. (SED II No. 16). [] Sem.: Ebl. *ir-bí-núm* (= Sum. NAM.KUR), Arb. *ʔirbiyān-* vs. Akk. *erbu* (*erebu*, *aribu*), Hbr. *ʔarbā*, etc. < ***ʔarbay-** 'locust' (SED II No. 11). [] Sem. ***kut(t)ān-** 'bug': Arb. *kuttān-* 'sorte d'insecte rouge et dont la picûre est douloureuse', Tgr. *kətan* '(bed-)bug(s)', Mhr. *kettôn* 'Wanze' (SED II No. 122; the two latter forms may be Arabisms) vs. Tgr. *kəta*, Tna. *kuta*, *k^wəta* 'young locust'. [] Sem. ***tuk^wān- // *tukān-** 'bug' (SED II No. 122; < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. **takwan* 'bleeding, cupping blood', semantically questionable) vs. Jud. *təkak* 'kind of worm' < Afras.: Egyp. *tkk-t* 'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Burunge *tikaʔiya* 'tsetse fly', Maʔa *twāngé* 'gadfly', Dahalo *takkwaʔe* 'dung beetle'. [] Sem. ***tapan-** 'rock hyrax': Hbr. *šāpān*, Mhr. *tōfən*, Jib. *tófun* vs. E. Cush. Oromo *šuffee* 'badger' (< **čuff-?*), N. Omot. Kafa *šifō* 'marten', Sheko *šimfa* 'mouse' (v. in SED II No. 240). [] Sem. ***kawdan-** 'mule': Akk. *kūdanu*, Syr. *kūdanyā*, etc. vs. Afras. **dakw-*: Chad. Hausa *dóki*, Hausa *dóki*, Jimbin *daákwa*, etc. 'horse', E. Chad. Dangla *dewki* 'antilope-cheval', S. Cush. Iraqw *daketi* 'zebra' (v. in SED II No. 124). [] Sem. ***šurān-** (and the metathetic form ***šū/in(n)ār-**) 'cat': Akk. *šurānu*, Jud. *šūrānā*, etc.) vs. Afras. **sawir-* 'kind of feline or civet': W. Chad. Hausa *sara*, *sawawara* 'civet', Daffo-Butura *šúwír* 'Wildkatze', etc., E. Chad. Tumak *sāwār* 'chat doré', Dangla *sārāārā* 'panthère femelle', E. Cush. Gawwada Dobaze Harso Gollango *sarii-ko* 'leopard', N. Omot. Ganjule *šuuuro* 'cat' (cf.

***švīn(n)ār- ~ *šurān-** 'cat' SED II No. 206). [] Sem. ***ʔam-**: Syr. *ʔarnā* 'caper montanus', Gez. *ʔornā* 'kind of antelope', Jib. *ʔerūn* 'goats', etc. < Afras.: Brb. **a-nHir* (met. < *ʔVrin?) 'the mohor antelope': Ahaggar *enir*, Taneslemt *tinhirt*, etc., E. Cush. Bayso *oren* 'goat' (v. in ***ʔam- ~ *ʔam-** 'wild goat' SED II No. 13) vs. Sem. ***ʔarwiy-** '(wild) goat, gazelle': Akk. *arm/wū*, Arb. *ʔurwiyyat*, etc. < Afras. **ʔarwVy-*: Brb. **iHarw-/Hyar-* 'small cattle; young of gazelle': Ghat *ihəri*, Ahaggar *ehere*, etc., W. Chad. Hausa *ārā-ārā* 'type of long-legged ram, goat, sheep', E. Chad. Lele *ōrē* 'goats', E. Cush. Burji *arāy* 'sheep', S. Cush. Iraqw *ari* 'goat', etc. (SED II No. 18). < Brb. Ayr *ā-kūlen* 'wolf' vs. Afras. **k^wVI-* 'wolf, dog, fox': C. Chad. Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kələ*, Buduma *keli* 'dog', etc. (in ***kalb-** 'dog', SED II No. 115). < W. Chad. Hausa *ḡakwan* 'dwarf buffalo' vs. E. Chad. Kera *beke* 'Vieh' < Afras. **baḡw-*: Brb. Nefusa *byu* 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *e-bāyāw* 'vieux boeuf' (v. in ***bakar-** 'large cattle' SED II No. 59). < W. Chad. Hausa *baḡurnā* 'red-flanked duiker' vs. Sem. ***bakar-** 'large cattle' (Hbr. *bākār*, Arb. *baḡar-*, etc.), perhaps < Afras. **bakVr-*: Brb. E. Tawllemmet *əbuyər* 'chamelon d'un an' (v. in SED II No. 59). < W. Chad. Warji *iyānā* vs. Kariya *ii*, Miya *i* 'dog' < Afras. **ʔiway-* 'wild dog, jackal': Sem. Hbr. *ʔī* 'jackal', Eyp. *ʔiw*, *ʔiwʔiw* 'Art Hund', E. Cush. Somali *yēy* 'wild dog', etc. (in ***ʔVwVy-** 'jackal', SED II No. 21). < E. Chad. Bidiya *birbiriny* 'caille' vs. Dangla *bāārē*, Migama *bāārē* 'perdrix' < Afras. **bVr- ~ *bVrbVr-* 'kind of bird (quail, partridge, dove)': Sem. Hbr. *barbūr* 'a bird fattened to be eaten by king Solomon', Tna. *bareto* 'turtledove', W. Chad. Hausa *bi/urabira* 'quail', E. Cush. Burji *būr-o* 'partridge', etc. (in ***bar-** 'kind of bird', SED II No. 61). < E. Cush. Dobaze *koren-te* 'goat' vs. Arbore *kaariy* 'heifer goat' < Afras. **karr- ~ *karw-* 'ram, goat' (in ***ka/irr-** 'ram', SED II No. 118). < E. Cush. Darasa *ḡissan-e*, Kambatta *ḡissoonna-ta* 'spider' vs. Tsamai *ḡiske* 'louse' (< *ḡis-k-), S. Cush. Dahalo *ḡuci* 'bee larva', etc. < Afras. **ḡVc/ç-* 'kind of insect' (in ***ḡVṣam-** 'locust, (locust) larva', SED II No. 139). < E. Cush. Sidamo *garran-čo* 'Agazen antelope' vs. N. Cush. N.: Beja *garuwa* 'eland', S. Cush. Iraqw *gwarʔaay* 'antelope', etc. < Afras. **ḡ^war- ~ *ḡarw-* 'kind of ungulate' (v. in ***ḡVrr/w(-at)-** 'small hoofed animal' SED II No. 85). < E. Cush. Burji *ḡorʔan-čo*, Darasa *ḡoraan-de*, Hadiya *ḡoraan-ta*, Kambatta *ḡorʔan-čo* vs. Alaba Tembaro *ḡura* 'crow' < Afras. **ḡ^war-* 'crow, raven' (in ***ḡārib- ~ *ḡuāb-** 'crow, raven' SED II No. 89). < S. Cush. Dahalo *ḡóóroānī* 'large stinging insect' vs. E. Cush. Kambatta *zeer-a* 'locust' < Afras. **ḡVr-* 'kind of insect, worm': Sem. Arb. *ḡarr-* 'très-petites fourmis', W. Chad. Galambu *ḡuur* 'worm', E. Chad. Bidiya *ḡaariyo* 'criquet sp.', etc. (in ***ḡVr(r)-** 'kind of worm, insect' SED II No. 74). < (?) Eyp. (OK) *ḡbn-w* 'antelope' (if from Afras. **ḡVb-Vn-*) vs. Sem. ***ḡaby(-at)-** 'gazelle': Akk. *ṣabītu*, Arb. *ḡaby-* 'gazelle', etc. (SED II No. 242).

Anatomy:

[] Akk. *dadānu* (*diadānu*, *daddānu*) 'neck muscles' vs. Ugr. *dd*, Hbr. *dad* 'brest' < ***dadd-**, ***dayd-** 'breast, teat' (SED I No. 47). [] Hbr. pB. *simpōn* 'ramified blood-vessel, artery; bronchiae' (also Jud. *simpōnā* id., likely a Hebraism) vs. Akk. *sinib/ptu* 'part of sheep's lung', Gez. *san/mbuʔ* 'lung' < ***si/anp-** 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Hbr. *ṣippōrān* vs. Jud. *ṭuprā*, Gez. *ṣəfir*, etc. < ***tip(V)r-** 'nail' (SED I No. 285). [] Arb. *firsin-* 'pied, patte' vs. Hbr. *parsā* 'hoof', Syr. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. < ***pa/irs-** 'sole (of foot, hoof)': Hbr. *parsā* 'hoof', Syr. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. (SED I No. 220). [] Tgr. *ḡəfən* 'hoof' vs. Arb. *ḡuff-*, Mhr. *ḡaf*,

etc. < ***ḡu/ap-** 'hoof' (SED I No. 135). [] Mhr. *kōbən* 'dry cow-pat, piece of dry cow-dung' vs. Jib. *kō* 'cow-dung', *ekbé* '(cow) to excrete' < ***kVbaw/y(-at)-** '(dry cow's) dung' (SED I No. 142). [] Mhr. *məʔwəyēn*, Hrs. *məʔeyīn* vs. Hbr. *mēʔayim* (pl.), Arb. *maʔy*, etc. < ***maʔay/w(-at)-** 'intestine, entrails' (SED I No. 185). [] Soq. *ḵəḥēlhin* vs. Jib. *ḵəḥlēt*, etc. < ***ḵa(w)ḥil-**, ***ʔVn-ḵulalih-** 'egg' (SED I No. 170). [] Sem.: Hbr. pB. *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member', Arb. (N. Yem.) *zibbin* 'penis' (also Syr. *zulbānā*, *zəlūbānā* 'veretrum (cervi et equi)') vs. ***zubb-** '(male) genitalia': Arb. *zubb-* 'verge, pénis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle)', (N. Yem.) *zibb*, *zubb* 'penis' (SED I No. 293). [] Sem. ***lab(y)-ān-**: Akk. *labānu* (*labiānu*, *libānu*) 'tendon of the neck; neck', Arb. *labān-* 'poitrine, surtout la partie entre les mamelles, poitrail (de tout animal à sabot)' vs. ***labb(-at)-**: Arb. *lubbāt-* 'le haut de la poitrine', etc., Tgr. *lābbāt* 'place of the fillet steak on the back of animals; midst, side', Wol. *lābāt* 'waist', Zw. *lābāt* 'podex, anus, buttocks', Muh. Sod. etc. *laba* 'waist' (< ***labb(-at)-**, ***lab(y)-ān-** '(animal's) body from neck to rump' SED I No. 173). [] Sem. ***dVm(a)n-**: Arb. *dimn-* 'crottin, fiente des bêtes, particulièrement, globuleuse', *damān-* 'fumiere', Hbr. *dōmān* 'dung' vs. Arb. *dimmat-* 'crottin, boule de fiente (de chameau ou d'autre animaux semblable)' (in SED I No. 52). [] Sem. ***sVry/ʔān-**: Akk. *šerʔānu* (*širʔānu*) 'sinew, tendon, muscle', Jud. *šuryānē*, *suryānē* (pl. constr.) 'muscles (of the eye)', Syr. *šeryānā* 'artculus; arteria; pulsus arteriarum', Mnd. *širiana* 'vein, artery, membrane, fibre', Arb. *šariyyān-* 'artère', Mhr. *šərayn* 'leg', Jib. *šərin* 'muscles of the back' vs. ***sVry/w/ʔ-**: Akk. *mešrētu* (pl. tant.), Syr. *šārītā* 'artculus', Arb. *ši/arʔat-*, etc. 'corde de l'arc', *ʔusrūʔ-* tendon de la jambe de la gazelle', Gez. *šərw*, etc. 'sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle', Amh. *sərasər* 'blood vessel', Soq. *mēsəräʔ* 'tendon d'Achille' (SED I No. 268). [] Sem. ***dap-an-**: Hbr. pB. *dōpān* 'the chest surrounding the lungs; ribs; a single rib; the parties of the abdomen; board-partition', Syr. *dapnā* 'latus, lumbus', Sel. Wol. *dāfāna* 'part of body between the shoulder-blades', etc. vs. ***dapp-at-**: Arb. *daff-* 'côté, flanc; face', Tgr. *dāffāt* 'place between shoulder-blade and neck', Mhr. *dəf(f)ēt* 'body, side' (in Sem. ***dap-an-** vs. ***dapp-at-** 'side of body; chest, ribs; back' SED I No. 55). [] Sem. ***daran-**: Arb. *daran-* 'tumeurs dures sur le corps', Tgr. *dārān* 'cutaneous eruptions like blisters', etc. vs. Arb. *drʔ* 'avoir le bubon pestilentiel au dos (se dit des chameaux)', Cha. Eža Gye. *dāra* 'leprosy that causes the whiteness of skin' (in SED I No. 57). [] Sem. ***gVb(b)-an-**: Hbr. *gibbēn* 'hunchbacked', Jud. *gibnā* 'hump', Muh. *gʷəbən*, Gog. *gʷābana* 'hunchbacked' vs. ***gab(V)b-**: Syr. *gəbībā* 'gibbosus', Arb. *ḡabab-* 'plaie...à la bosse du chameau', Amh. *gʷābābb alā* 'to be hunchbacked' (in ***gab(V)b-**, ***gVb(b)-an-** 'hump, hunch' SED I No. 67). [] Sem. ***gab(b)īn-**: Jud. *gəbīnā* 'eyebrow, eyelash', Arb. *ḡabīn-* 'front', etc. (SED I No. 69) vs. Sem. ***gabb(-at)-**: Hbr. *gabbōt ʔēnayim* 'eyebrows', Arb. *ḡubbat-* 'os qui forme l'orbite de l'oeil', etc. (SED I No. 66). [] Sem. ***batn-**: Hbr. *bātān*, Mnd. *batna* 'large belly; pregnancy', Arb. *batn-* 'ventre', etc. (SED I No. 42) vs. Sem.: Arb. *(ta)baʔaṭa*, Gez. *baṭaṭa* 'lie in the stomach' (LGz 114) < Afras. ***buṭ-** 'belly, navel': Brb. Shilh *a-buḍ* 'nombril', Zenaga *buṭ* 'gros nombril', etc. (DRB 29), W. Chad. Sura *ḡut*, Mupun *ḡūt*, etc. 'belly' (CLR 20), Fyer *ḡuto*, Kariya *būḍə*, etc. (note also Miya *bəḍi* and *būḍən*) 'navel' (ibid. 250). [] Sem. ***šam(a)n-** 'oil, fat': Akk. *šamnu*, Ugr. *šmn*, Arb. *samn-*, etc., probably < Afras. ***sVm(V)n-**: W. Chad. Diri *šinama* (met. < ***siman-**?), E. Chad. Sokoro *sūnne* 'melted butter' (< ***sumne**, according to Stolbova) vs. Tgr. *šāmut* 'ointment' (cf. also *səmsəm wāda* 'to become fat in the neck') and, perhaps,

Ugr. *šmt* 'cebo, grasa' (unless < **šamattu* < **šaman-t*; cf. DLU 445-6), in which case < Sem. **šam-Vt* < Afras. **sim-at* 'melted fat, butter, oil': Brb.: Ahaggar *ésîm* 'graisse fondu', Qabyle *ta-səm-t* 'graisse animal', Egypt. Med. *smṯ* 'fette Milch, Sahne', N. Cush. Beja *simuum* 'suet, fatty covering of kidneys' (v. in SED No. 248). [] Sem. **lš(s)ān* 'tongue; language': Akk. *lišānu*, Hbr. *lāšōn*, Arb. *lisān*-, etc. vs. Afras. **lis*- 'tongue' (cf. also Arb. *lss* 'lécher; manger' and similar forms): Brb. **?i-lis*-, Egypt. Pyr. *ns* (Copt. **lsy*), Chad. **lis*- (SED I No. 181). <> Brb. Ahaggar *teddumman* 'morceau de cuir dur formant le fond de l'égerouci' (Fouc 201; <**tV-dum-an*) vs. AA **?a-dVm*- 'hide, skin': Sem. Arb. *?adam*- 'peau humaine', *?adīm*- 'peau de visage; peau d'un animal, surtout grand, large' (BK 1 19; rather homonymous to, than derived from, *?dm* 'ê. rouge' ibid.), Eth. **?adim* (Gz *?adim* 'skin, red, leather; red', Tgr. Tna. *?adim* 'leather', Amh. *adim* 'red leather'; according to LGz 8, from Arb. *?adīm*- "possibly from the red or brown color"), (?) W. Chad. Tangale *hadam* 'skin, hide, leather' (JungT 88; < **?adam?*), E. Cush. Somali *idin*, pl. *idmo* 'tanned skin' (Dolg 1973 237; hardly < Sem. as in LGz 8).

Varia:

[] Gez. *masyān* vs. *mes* 'drink made from fermented honey' (LGz 377) < Sem. **mayt*- (v. in -Vr Varia). [] Sem. **kaṭVn*- 'small, thin': Akk. *kaṭnu* 'thin, fine, narrow' (CAD Q 173), Hbr. *kaṭān* 'small' (HAL 1092-3), Gez. *kaṭīn* 'to be thin, fine', etc. (LGz 453) vs. **k^wVt*-. Hbr. (hapax leg.) *kāṭ* 'small' (HAL 1091), Gez. *k^waṭaṭa* 'to be slender, thin' (LGz 455). [] Sem. **?adan*- 'lord, master': Ugr. *?adn*, Hbr. *?ādōn*, Pho. Nab. Palm. *?dn*, etc. (cf. HAL 12-13; DLU 9), with -n likely a masculine marker, vs. Sem. **?ad-at*- 'lady' (hardly < **?adatt*- < **?adan-t*; cf. DRS 8): Ugr. *?adt*, Pho. Nab. Palm. *?dt*, etc. (cf. HAL 12; DLU 11), tenably related to Tna. *addē*, Cha. *adot*, Gye. *adōt*, etc. 'mother', Cha. *ado/i*, Gog. *adde*, etc. 'mother!' (possibly but not necessarily < Cush. as in LGur 18; cf. ibid.: "The connection of this root with Ug., Punic, Palmyrene *?ad-t* 'lady' is enigmatic") < Afras. **?a/i(n)d*- 'elder female relative': C. Chad. Munjuk *adi* 'grandmother', E. Chad. Kera *ādīdā* 'Grossmutter' (Eb 113), N. Cush. Beja *enda/e*, C. Cush. Bilin *adē* 'Mutter' (RBeḍ 21), Somali *eddo* 'paternal aunt' (Abr Som 72), Oromo *aaddee* 'older sister, aunt; general term of address for women' (Gr 1), Hadiya Kambatta *adda* 'mother' (LGur 18), Gollango *taatīte* 'alteste Schwester' (AMS 267; likely < **ta-?adid*-), N. Omot. Mocha *?inde*, Haruro *endo*, Malo *indo* 'mother' (LMč 20), etc. [] Afras. **ti?(i)n*- 'fig-tree': Sem. **ti?in*- 'fig(-tree)': Akk. *tittu*, *ti?ittu* (pl. *tīnātu*), Hbr. *tə?ēnā*, Arb. *tīn*-, etc., Brb. Ahaggar *təyne*, Taneslemt *tehəyne*, etc. 'datte', W. Chad. Angas *teung* 'tree, fig-tree', etc. vs. **ti?*-. Akk. (Lex. SB) *ti?u* 'Feige', N. Omot. Janjero *te?ā* 'sicomoro' (Mil Farm 142).

-**Vm** (cf. Barth 349-54, GVG 396, Torczyner pp. 1 ff.)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *lulīmu* 'red deer, stag' vs. *littu* (*lītu*) 'cow' < **li?(at)*-, **la?ay-at*- 'head of large cattle': Arb. *lā?aⁿ* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Arb. *žardam*- vs. *žarād*- 'locust' < **garad*- 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 83). [] Arb. *?azram*- (< Afras. **?a-3Vr-am*-. Cf. W. Chad. Galambu *zərəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzūrma* 'leopard' < **žarzur-m*-) vs. Sem. **?a(n)z/dar*- 'kind of wild cat' < Afras. (v. **?V**- Animal names; SED II No. 9). [] Arb. *ʕulžūm*- 'taureau vieux'

vs. *ʕiʒl*- 'veau' < ***ʕig^wal-** // ***ʕigl-** 'calf': Ugr. *ʕgl*, Syr. *ʕeglā*, etc. (SED II No. 28). [] Arb. *burām*- 'tique' (also Tgr. *bəram* 'tick' unless an Arabism) vs. ***bur-** 'kind of insect': Akk. **būrtu* (in *burt/di šamḥat*) 'caterpillar', Eža *bəre*, Cha. *bre* 'insect (such as a bug or a louse that eats human excrements or cereal)', etc. (SED II No. 62). [] Gez. *lāhm* 'ox, bull, cow', Tna. *lahmi* 'cow' (LGz 309; < Sem. **IVhm-*? Cf. Arb. *lihm*- 'agē (taureau)' BK 2 1034 and Akk. *lulīmu* 'red deer, stag' above) vs. Mhr. *ləhāytən*, Hrs. *ləhētəh* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhóti*, Soq. *ʔélheh* 'cow' (v. in ***liʔ(-at)-**, ***laʔay-at-** 'head of large cattle' SED II No. 142). [] S. Eth. Amh. *kurma* 'bull (not castrated)', Har. *korma* 'male (animal)', Muh. *k^wärma* 'the young male of a sheep, male (animal), bull' (cf. also Yaaku *kúruma* 'goat' below) vs. Arb. *kawr-* 'troupeau nombreux (de chameaux, de boeufs)', probably continuing Sem. ***ka/ir-** 'ram': Akk. *kirru*, Hbr. *kar*, etc. < Afras. **karr-*, **karw-* '(young male) ram, goat': Brb. Nefusa *a-krar* 'bouc', Ghat *a-kərwāt* 'agneau', etc., W. Chad. Dera *kwaara* 'goat', etc., E. Cush. Arbore *kaariy* 'heifer goat', etc. (SED II No. 118; cf. also W. Chad. Tangale *kaarwa* 'cow' CLR 92). [] Sem. **kinVm-*: Hbr. *kinnām* 'gnats', pB. *kənimma* 'vermin, moth', Mhr. *kənəmūt*, Hrs. *kenemōt*, Jib. *šínit* (pl. *kúnúm*), Soq. *kōnem* (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Migama *kakkumá* 'pou', possibly < **kan/mkum-*, and S. Cush. Iraqw *konkomó* 'bean seed borer') vs. **kinn-*: Hbr. *kēn* 'gnat', pB. *kinnā*, Jud. *kinnā* 'vermin, louse' < Afras. **ka/inn(kVn)-* 'kind of insect': E. Chad. Dangla *kəkkínɛɛnɛ* 'sauterelle de saison sèche, comestible', E. Cush. Somali *šinn-i*, Oromo (Borana) *kinn-iisa*, Konso *ḥan-ta* 'bee', N. Omot. Janjero *kenako*, *kenaḳo* 'flea', Hozo *konni* 'louse', *kəekaḳki*, Sezo *kāḳkākāḳk(i)* 'spider' (v. in ***ki/ann(-Vm)-** 'a harmful insect', SED II No. 116). [] Sem. (unless a series of interborrowings): Syr. *būmā*, Mnd. *bum*, *buma*, N. Syr. *būmā*, Arb. *būm-* 'owl' vs. ***bvʔ(w)-** ~ ***būh-** id.: Hbr. pB. *bā(ʔ)wāt*, Syr. *baʔwā*, *bawwā*, Arb. *būh-* (SED II No. 52; perhaps onomatopoeic). [] Sem. ***kVsam-** 'locust, (locust) larva': Ugr. *ḳṣm* 'grasshopper(s)', Arb. *ḳaṣam-* 'oeufs de sauterelles', *ḳaṣām-* 'sauterelle', Amh. *ḳəṣam* 'nit, louse' vs. Tgr. *ḳāṣ*, *ḳāṣ* 'flea', Amh. *ḳ^wəṣaṣ* 'tiny black ants' < Afras. **ḳVc/ḳ-* 'kind of insect (locust or ant larva)': E. Cush. Darasa *ḳissane* 'spider', Tsamai *ḳiske* 'louse', S. Cush. Dahalo *ḳúci* 'bee larva', N. Omot. Kachama *ḳaṣo* 'black ant', etc. (v. in SED II No. 139). [] Sem. ***sVIVm-** 'kind of insect': Syr. *šalmūnəyā* 'tarantula', Arb. *ʔal-ʔaṣlam-* 'puce', Tna. *šállam ṭel* 'dark spider, tarantula' vs. Hbr. *šəlāṣal* 'locust, cricket' (perhaps also Tgr. *šəṣəl*) < Afras.? Cf. S. Omot. Hamar *čīilu* 'ant sp.' (SED II No. 210). <> Brb. **(H)ikirdam* 'scorpion': Siwa *tiqerḍemt*, Ahaggar *éyirdem*, pl. *iyórdām*, Semlal *iyirdem*, pl. *iyardmiun*, Qabyle *iyirdem*, etc. vs. Sem. ***ḳ^wVrVd-** // ***ḳVd-** 'tick': Syr. *ḳerdā*, Arb. *ḳurd-*, Tna. *ḳ^wərdid*, etc. (SED II No. 135). <> E. Cush. Sidamo *gurum-iččo* 'gazelle' vs. N. Cush. Beja *garuwa* 'eland', S. Cush. Iraqw *gwarʔaay* 'antelope (big)', etc. < Afras. **g^war-* ~ **garw-* 'kind of ungulate' (in ***gVmr/w(-at)-** 'small hoofed animal' SED II No. 85). <> E. Cush. Yaaku *kúruma* 'goat' vs. Afras. **karr-*, **karw-* '(young male) ram, goat' (in ***ka/ir-** 'ram', SED II No. 118; v. above). <> E. Cush. Burji *gārm-i*, Gidole *karm*, Konso *karm-aa*, Gawwada-Dalpena Harso Dihina Gollango *kármō* (< **garm-*), N. Omot. Zaysse Koyra Ganjule *garma* 'lion' (unless Cush. and Omot. are interborrowings) vs. Afras. **gi/ar-* 'cat; lion': Sem. Akk. *girru* 'lion', Har. *gärgōra* (*gängōra*) 'leopard', W. Chad. Dwot *gewar* '(an animal) smaller than civet', E. Cush. Gidole *kiro-ta*, Burji *giraaw-ce* 'cat', N. Omot. Zala *gawar-ya*, Dawro *garawa*, Malo *gaware*, Gamu/Daṣe *gawara*, Zaysse *garawa*, Koyra *giraawweʔ* id., etc. (in

***gūr- ~ *gury/w** 'whelp, cub', SED II No. 82). < S. Cush. Dahalo *ngólome* < **n V-g^wVI-am-* vs. Afras. **ʕi-g^wal-*: W. Chad. Sayanchi *gāl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyɛl* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf', etc. (in ***ʕig^wal-** // ***ʕigl-** 'calf', SED II No. 28). < S. Cush. Dahalo *kiḃowašimo* 'sp. small gazelle' vs. Sem. ***kabs-** 'young ram': Akk. *kabsu*, Hbr. *kābās*, Arb. *kabš-*, etc. (SED II No. 114). < Afras. **ga/udam-* 'kind of ungulate' (unless the suffixation of *-m* is an independent process in Chad. and Cush.): W. Chad. Kariya *gudam* 'Western kob' (cf. E. Chad. Migama *dāgāyām* 'sheep', perhaps related metathetically), E. Cush. Oromo *gadam-sa*, Burji *gadām-a* 'greater kudu' vs. **ga/uday/w-* 'kind of ungulate': Sem. ***gady-** 'kid' (Hbr. *gədī*, Arb. *ḡady-*, etc.), W. Chad. Hausa *gāḏāa*, Ngizim *gādūwā* 'duiker', C. Chad. Zime-Batna *gōḏāy* 'buck', E. Cush. Sidamo *goda* 'deer, gazelle', N. Omot. Zaysse *gaaidé* 'cattle', etc. (SED II No. 76). < Afras. **kVI(V)m-* 'vermin' (Sem.: Akk. *kalmatu* 'parasite, louse', Arm. Anc. *klmh* 'parasite, louse', Jud. *kalmā*, *kalmōtā* 'vermin', C. Chad. Bura *kulamya* 'general term for worms', E. Chad. Dangla *kēlēēmā* 'coléoptère Hydrophyle', E. Cush.: Saho Afar *kilim*, Somali *šilin*, pl. *šilm-o*, Rendille *čilim*, Oromo *šilm-a*, etc. 'tick') vs. Afras. **k^wVI(k^wVI)-* 'kind of insect': Sem. Akk. *kuḫlu* 'dragonfly', Gez. *k^wəl^wəl(t)* 'kind of black ant', Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *kālkāt* 'être pouilleux', C. Chad. Bura *kalakala* 'a species of locust', E. Chad. Tumak *kulōəl* 'mille-pattes' (v. in SED II No. 130 ***k^(w)aml-** // ***kumāl-** ~ ***kalm-** 'louse', b. ***kalm-**). < Afras. **ka/ul(l)um-*: W. Chad. Hausa *kulma/e/i* 'the name of a large fish' (Barg 636), E. Cush. Afar *kullu(u)m* 'Fisch' (RAf 867), Somali *kallun*, pl. *kalluumo* 'fish' (Abr Som 148) vs. Sem. Mehri *kell*, Jibbali *kāl* 'whale' (ADB after Thomas); cf. Akk. *kuḫlu*, *kuḫullu* 'a fabulous creature, part man and part fish' CAD K 526: Sum. lw.), (?) C. Chad. Bura *kaliko* 'a k. of fish' (Bura 96), *kila kila* id. (ibid. 103); cf. Dolg AN 424. < Afras. *(*ʔa-*)*ḡagum-* (unless *-m* was suffixed independently in Chad. and Cush.): W. Chad. Ngizim *āḡagūm* 'hippopotamus' (Bla Eleph 204), E. Cush. Yaaku *sogómēi* 'elephant' (Hei Ya 124; possibly < **zogom-* < **ḡogom-*) vs. Afras. *(*ʔa-*)*ḡVgw-* 'hippopotamus': C. Chad. Dirī *Paʔa ḡungwa*, Sirī *ḡiḡwa* (Sk NB 26), N. Omot. Kačama *azāgē*, Koyra *azzāgē*, Ganjule *azagé* (Bla Eleph 204), cf. also Egypt. MK *z'g-t* 'Fabeltier' (EG III 422; hardly 'hippopotamus' well-known to Egyptians: an elephant or rhinoceros?).

Anatomy:

[] Hbr. *šāpām* 'moustache' vs. *šāpā* 'lip' < **ša(n)p-at-* 'lip': Akk. *šaptu*, Arb. *šafat-*, etc. (SED I No. 265). [] Arb. *ʔadram-* 'édenté' vs. *ʔadrad-* id. < ***dVr(dVr)-** 'toothless mouth, gum': Jud. *dərārā* 'gum', Tgr. *dərdər gāʔa* 'to grow toothless', etc. (SED I No. 56). [] Arb. *nuḡmat-*, *nuḡāmat-* 'ce que l'on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc.' vs. ***naḡ-** 'mucus; mucus membrane': Akk. *naḡnaḡatu* (redupl.) 'Nasenscheidewand', Jib. *nḡḡḡ* 'phlegm', etc. (SED I 197). [] Tgr. *fərsəm* 'ankle (of men); heel tendon' vs. ***pa/irs-** 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED I No. 220; v. in **-(V)n** Anatomy). [] Soq. *ḡaryómoh* 'excrément' vs. ***ḡViʔ/y-** 'excrement, dregs': Ugr. *ḡrʔu*, Syr. *ḡerāyā*, Arb. *ḡarr-*, *ḡurʔ-*, etc. (SED I No. 136). [] Sem.: Arb. *sanām-* 'bosse de chameau', Gez. *sə/anām* 'hump' (unless < Arb.), Tgr. *səlam* (dissim.) 'hump of camel or of cattle' vs. Arb. *sinsinat-* 'sommets de la bosse du chameau', Arg. *sañña*, Gog. Sod. *šañña* 'hump of animal', (?) Hrs. *sensin de-ḡahr* 'spine' < ***š/sVn(-ām)-** 'hump of animal (camel, etc.)'. [] Arb. *ḡalkūm-* (also MSA **ḡalkam-ut* 'Adam's apple', Tgr. *ḡəlkəm* 'throat, larynx', both probably <

Arb.) vs. *ḥalk-* 'gorge' < ***ḥalk-**, ***ḥalkū/um-** 'Adam's apple, throat' (SED I No. 117). [] Sem.: Mnd. *balṣuma* 'gullet' (unless < Arb.), Arb. *bulṣum-* 'oesophagus, canal de déglutition', Soq. *bālḥam* 'viveur' vs. ***balV/y-**: Syr. *bālaṣtā* 'guttur', Jib. *təbṣəṣt* 'uvula', etc. (cf. SED I No. 36). [] Sem. ***tuvalḥim-** 'spleen': Akk. *tuḥimu*, MSA ***talḥaym** vs. ***tiḥal-** id.: Ugr. *ṭḥl*, Hbr. pB. *ṭəḥōl*, Syr. *ṭəḥālā*, etc., Arb. *ṭiḥāl*, Muh. Sod., etc. *ṭala* 'spleen', Jib. *ṭəlḥ* 'blood and discharge with an afterbirth' (SED I No. 278). [] Arm. ***pum-**, Arb. *fum-*, *fam(m)-*, *fim-* 'mouth' vs. Akk. *pū*, Ugr. *p*, Hbr. *pā*, Arb. *fū*, Eth. ***ʔaf-** id. (in ***pay-** 'mouth', SED I No. 223; v. in **ʔV-Anatomy**). [] Sem. ***lḥm-**: Arb. *lḥm* 'to eat, swallow up', Gez. *laḥama* 'to to chew', Tna. *lāḥāmā* 'to eat roasted grain', Tgr. *lāḥma* 'to eat' (LGz 317) vs. Sem. ***IVḳ(IVḳ)-**: Hbr. *lḳḳ* 'to lick up, lap', pB. *lḳlḳ* id., Arb. *lḳḳ*, Tgr. *lḳlḳ* 'to lick' (HAL 535-6). < E. Chad. Somrai *gīdam* 'foot', E. Cush. Burji *gudum-a*, Hadiya *gudum-o* 'shoulder' (< Afras. ***gVdVm-** unless independent processes of *-m* suffixation) vs. Sem. ***gVd-at-** '(part or bone of the) leg of animal', E. Cush. Oromo *agguuddoo* (also *abbuuddoo*, *abbuuduu*) 'thumb', Afar Saho *agaḏā*, *āgūd* (pl.) 'arm', Hadiya *angʷoda*, Tambaro *angāta* 'upper part of arm', Darasa *agōḏa* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kafa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Omoto (Wolamo) *gāddea* 'leg', (Kullo) *gādeiya* 'foot' < Afras. **(ʔa-)gVd-** 'limb' (SED I No. 71; v. in **ʔV-Anatomy**). < Afras.: Brb. Kel-Ui *uləm*, S. Omot. Hamar *weylēm* (Bnd Om 211) 'heart' vs. Brb.: Ahaggar *ul*, Ayr *əwəl*, Siwa *uli*, Semlal *ul*, Qabyle *ul*, etc., id. (counter to a wide-spread opinion, unrelated to Afras. ***IVb-** 'heart') and perhaps S. Omot. Ongota *ləəta* id. (< ***IV-t-ʔ** Mil Ong). < AA ***ʔa-dVm-** 'hide, skin': Sem. Arb. *ʔadam-* 'peau humaine', *ʔadīm-* 'peau de visage; peau d'un animal, surtout grand, large' (BK 1 19; rather homonymous to, than derived from, *ʔdm* 'ē. rouge' *ibid.*), Eth. ***ʔadim** (Gez. *ʔadim* 'skin, red, leather; red', Tgr. Tna. *ʔadim* 'leather', Amh. *adim* 'red leather' (according to LGz 8, from Arb. *ʔadīm-* "possibly from the red or brown color"), Brb. Ahaggar *teddumman* 'morceau de cuir dur formant le fond de l'égerouci' (Fouc 201; < ***tV-HVdum-an**), (?) W. Chad. *hadam* 'skin, hide, leather' (JungT 88; < ***ʔadam?**), E. Cush. Somali *idin*, pl. *idmo* 'tanned skin' (Dolg 1973 237; hardly < Sem. as in LGz 8) vs. Afras. ***ʔa-daw-**: N. Cush. Beja *ada* 'Haut' (RBeḏ 7), E. Cush. Sidamo *diddaawe* 'leather mat' (HEC 79), Yaaku *ata* 'bull hide' (Dolg 1973 237; < ***ʔad-**).

Varia:

[] Arb. *šubrum-* 'espèce de plante dont la graine ressemble aux lentilles' (also Sam. *šabrimma* 'grain') vs. Hbr. *šābār* 'grain' (also Sam. *šābru* id.) < Sem. ***š_xabr(-Vm)-** < Afras. ***š_V(m)bar-** 'k. of corn; chickpea' (on Afras. ***š-** > Sem. ***š_x-** > Hbr *š* ~ Arb. *š*- v. SED I, XCVIII-CV): C. Cush. Aungi *šəmbər-i* 'chickpea', Bilin *sabbar-ā* 'Hülsenfrucht', E.: Saho Afar *sabbar-ē* 'eine bestimmte Hülsenfrucht', Oromo *šumbur-ā*, Geleba Kambatta *šumbur-a*, Burji Hadiya Sidama *šimbur-a* 'chickpea', Gollango *sumbur-o* 'Erbse' (Mil Farm 142). [] Gez. *təmələm* 'yesterday' vs. Tgr. *tāmāle*, Tna. *təməli*, Hbr. *təməl*, Akk. *timāli*, etc. id. (LGz 575-6). [] Gez. *gesam*, *gešam*, Tgr *gesām* 'tomorrow' vs. Gez. *ges/ša* 'be early, do things early in the morning', Tna. *gäsäggäsä* 'leave early in the morning', Har. *gīs* 'tomorrow', etc. (LGz 208-9; v. discussion *ibid.*). [] Sem. ***gdm** 'to cut': Akk. *gadāmu* 'to cut off hair' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdm* 'to lop off, stump' (Ja 213), Syr. *gdm* 'cecidit, abscidit' (Brock 105), Arb. *ḡdm* 'couper, retrancher' (BK 1 266), Tgr. *gəddom* 'pickaxe' (LH 599), etc. (v. LGz 182-3; well-looking Afras. parallels, such as E. Chad. Dangla *gāddum-ne*

'instrument for cutting wood', N. Cush. Beja *gaduum*, E. Cush. Saho *gɔdumaa*, Somali *gudimo*, etc. are probably borrowed from Arb. *ḳad(d)ūm*- 'axe'; cf. RBeq 91) vs. **gdd* 'to cut' (v. in LGz 180): Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ḡdd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180). < W. Chad. Angas *gürm* vs. C. Chad. Glavda *ʔagurà*, Mandara *gíre*, E. Chad. Somrai *giri*, *ḡirī*, Jegu *giri*, *gír(k)* 'bean' < Afras. **g^(w)i/ar-* ~ **garga/ir-* 'bean' (Mil Farm 141). < Chad. **kawira(-mi)-* 'hoe' (-*mi* is an instrumental suffix?): W. Chad. Hausa *kórámé* 'long-handled hoe', Ngizim *kūrəm*; C. Chad. Fali-Bwagira *ta-kurmi-n* 'hoe', S. Cush. Iraqw Alagwa *kurumo* 'hoe', Asa *kurim-* 'to cultivate' vs. C. Chad. **kwr* ~ **krw*: Hona *kūra*, Lame *kāruá*, Banana *kāwira* 'hoe', Mofu *kərw*, Lame *kura* 'to hoe, prepare field for sowing', S. Cush. Maʔa *-kúru* 'to cultivate' < Afras. **kwr* (Chad., Cush.) ~ **ʔkr* (Sem.) 'to cultivate' (Mil Farm 146). < W. Chad. Hausa *sàkwami* 'hoe with a long handle' vs. Sura *sak* 'to hoe, plow', Tangale *suk* 'to plow' < Afras. **skk*, **swk*, **skw/y/ʔ* 'to cultivate, to hoe and sow' (Mil Farm 147). < Afras. **člm* 'to be dark, black' (cf. also Stolb 1996 47): Sem. **ṭlm* 'to be dark': Akk. *šalāmu* 'to become dark, turn black' (CAD Š 70), Arb. *zlm* 'to be dark', Gez. *šalma* 'to grow dark, be black', etc. (v. in LGz 556), C. Chad. Buduma *čilum* (Luk Bud 95), Kotoko *sələmm*, E. Chad. Dangla *zìlīm-* (CLR II 29) 'black', Migama *zìlmó* 's'assombrir' (Jung Mig 136; cf. also *čúlumtì* 'l'ouest' *ibid.* 75), Mokilko *zímóló* 'ténébreux, obscure, sombre' (Jung Mkk 200; metathesis), E. Cush. Somali *ḍelmanayya* 'to move in the evening' (v. Abr Som 56; < **čVlm-an-*), S. Cush. Qwadza *calam-* 'green' (HRSC 388) vs. Afras. **ča/il-*: Sem. **ṭil(a)l-* 'shadow, shade': Akk. *šullulu* 'obscure, dark' (CAD Š 239), *šillu* 'shadow, shade' (*ibid.* 189), Arb. *zill-* 'shadow', **Gz.** *šəlālot* 'shadow, shade, darkness' (LGz 555), etc., W. Chad. Angas *žil* 'shade under trees' (Stolb 1996 48 after Foulkes), Sha *čalā* 'Shatten (Person, Sache)' (Jung R 283), C. Chad. Gisiga *nzala* 'west' (Stolb 1996 48), E. Cush. Sidamo *caale* 'shade' (HEC 131), S. Cush. Dahalo *tiilali* 'shadow' (EEN 8).

-Vʔ

Animal names:

[] Arb. *ʔakrabāʔ-* vs. *ʔakrab-* (in **ʔakrab-** 'scorpion', SED II No. 31).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *ḥarmāʔ-* 'oreille percée' vs. *ḥarmat-* 'endroit où le nez est percé pour y passer une boucle' < ***ḥmm** 'to have a notch, cut in the skin (nose, ear, lip)' (SED I Vb. No. 30). [] Arb. *ḥawbāʔ-* 'poitrine' vs. Hbr. pB. *ḥōb*, Jud. *ḥubbā* < ***ḥubb-** or ***ḥawb-** 'chest, bosom' (SED I No. 109). [] Arb. *ḥammāʔ-* 'fesses' vs. *ḥammām-at-* 'milieu de la poitrine, du poitrail, sternum, etc.' < ***ḥVmm(-at-)** 'breast, stomach, entrails' (SED I No. 119). [] Gez. *sanbuʔ* 'lung', Tgr. *sän/mbuʔ* 'lung; pulmonary disease', Tna. *san/mbuʔ* 'lung' vs. Akk. *sinibtu*, *siniptu* 'part of sheep's lung', Hbr. pB. *simpōn* 'ramified blood-vessel, artery; bronchiae', etc. < Sem. ***si/anṭ-** < Afras. **Si/anṭ-* 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Gez. *naḥāʔ* (also *naʔaḥ*) 'phlegm' vs. Jib. *nḥəḥ* id. < ***naḥ-** 'mucus; mucus membrane' (SED I No. 197). [] Mhr. (Jadib) *ḥəṣərrəʔ* vs. E. Jib. *ḥəṣrér*, Arb. *ḥinšir-*, etc. < ***ḥi(n)ṣVr-** '(little) finger' (SED I No. 134).

-Vr

Animal names:

[] Arb. *ḵirdiʿ*-, *ḵirdaʿ*-'poux (chez les chameaux ou chez les poules)', *ḵurdūʿ*-'petite fourmi' vs. *ḵurd*-'teigne qui attaque les chevaux, les chameaux' < ***ḵ^wVrVd** // ***ḵVrd**-'tick' (SED II No. 135; v. in **-Vm** Animal names). [] Arb. *ḡandaʿ*-, *ḡunduʿ*-'espèce de sauterelle noire' (possibly also Amh. *g^wande*, Sel. *gōndä*, Wol. *g^wändä*, Gog. *g^wändä* and similar Gur. forms 'kind of ant', if < ***g^wandaʿ**) vs. Arb. *ḡudḡud*-'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle' (v. in ***g^wa(n)dab** // ***ga(n)dab** 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *ḵorəʃ*, Tna. *ḵ^wərʃo* 'frog' vs. Sem. ***ḵVr(V)r**-'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in **?V**-Animal names). < S. Cush. Alagwa *ĉembeʿu*, Burunge *ĉambeʿu* 'frog' vs. Iraqw *ĉambebe* 'small insect drifting on top of water, tadpole', W. Chad. Hausa *ĉumbē* id. < Afras. **ĉamb*-'frog', probably related to Sem. ***šabb**-'kind of lizard' (SED II No. 221).

Anatomy:

[] Syr. *parsūfā* 'ungula' vs. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea' < ***pa/irs**-'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED II No. 220;). [] Arb. *ḵirdiʿat*-'cou' vs. *ḵard*-id., *ḵurdūd*-'dos (toute la largeur du dos chez l'homme depuis les fesses jusqu'aux épaules)', *ḵurdūdat*-'le haut du dos' < Sem. ***ḵard**-'neck, throat': Jib. *ḵerd* 'throat', etc. < Afras.: Brb. ***ḵərd**-'neck' (Ayr E. Tawllemmet *ti-yərd-en* 'partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates') SED II No. 166. [] Sem. ***g^wVrʿ** ~ ***g^wrʿ**: Arb. *ḡrʿ* 'boire par gorgées, absorber', Gez. *g^wərʿe*, *g^wrʿe* 'throat, neck, palate', *g^wərʿaya* 'to stab the throat, slaughter, strangle', Tgr. *gərəʃ*, *gərʿat* 'neck, throat', Tna. *g^wäräʿe* 'to crack (adolescent's voice)', *g^wärʿamä* 'to drink greedily, taking big gulps', Mhr. *gorä* 'to finish up a drink', Hrs. *gōra*, *gēro* 'to drink up', Jib. *gōtraʿ* 'to be all drunk, drunk up' (stem with the infix -t-) vs. Hbr. *gərgərōt* 'pharynx, neck', Syr. *gaggartā* 'gutter', Tna. *g^wərg^wərīt* 'gozzo', *g^wäräro* 'gola, trachea', etc. < ***g^war(g^w)ar**-'throat, gullet' (SED II No. 102). [] N. Eth. ***?V-ngVdʿ**:- Gez. *?əngədʿ/?ā* 'breast, chest', Tna. *?əngədəʿa* 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *naʒd*-'mamelle', Hbr. *nägäd* 'that which is opposite, in front of, before' (< ***nagd**-'breast' SED II No. 195). [] Sem. ***šmʿ**-'to hear' (v. in LGz 501-2, DLU 441) vs. Afras. ***sim**-'ear': Brb. Ghadames *ī-səm*, pl. *semm-en* 'oreille' (Lan 338; likely related are Ahaggar *a-sāmu* 'oreiller' Fouc 1834, Qabyle *ta-sumta* id. Dal 781, etc.), Eryp. Pyr. *smt* 'hören' (EG IV 144), C. Chad. Margi *šimī*, Mandara *šimā*, Mofu *šumāy*, Logone *šim*, E. Chad. Somrai *súmí*, Lele *sùmá*, Mubi *súmāmū*, etc. 'ear' (CLR 114-5).

Varia:

[] Sem. ***gdʿ** 'to cut': Hbr. *gdʿ* 'to cut off' (HAL 180), Syr. *gdʿ* 'amputavit' (Brock 105), Arb. *ḡdʿ* 'mutiler quelqu'un' (BK 1 264), Gez. *g^wadʿa* 'to strike, smite, etc.' (LGz 180; also *g^wadʿa* id., Tna. *g^wädʿe* 'to crush, damage', etc. *ibid.*) vs. ***gdd** 'to cut' (*ibid.*): Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscedit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ḡdd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180).

-(V)h

Animal names:

<> N. Cush. Beja *andirho/u* 'fowl', C. Cush. Qwara Dembea *dirh^{wā}*, E. Cush. Saho Afar *dorohō*, *dorhō* 'hen' (rather borrowed into than from Gez. *dorho*, *doroho*, Tgr. *derho* 'chicken', Tna. *dārho* 'hen, chicken, fowl'; cf. also E. Chad. Tumak *ḍerí* 'bird' < *dVHVr-) vs. Afras. *dVr- 'kind of bird (hen, dove)': Sem. Hbr. *ḍarōr* 'a kind of bird (swallow, dove?)', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *ḍurwā* 'lark-quail', Dera *ḍarirū* 'type of swift nightbird', Buli *ḍōḍēr* 'weaver bird', C. Chad. Gude *ḍará* 'type of bird', Mbara *ndorō* 'green pigeon', E. Chad. Somrai *ḍurē* 'chicken', Mokilko *ḍēre* 'pigeon', E. Cush. Somali *ḍóoro* 'chicken, hen', S. Cush. Dahalo *ḍéere* 'woodpecker', N. Omot. Zergulla *ḍeri*, Chara *ḍíra*, *ḍērā* 'chicken' (v. in SED II No. 71; part of the forms may go back to *dVrh-).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *fūh-* vs. *fū*, *fum-*, etc. < *pay- 'mouth' (SED I No. 223). [] Sem. *gVbh(-at)- (unless an Arabism in Tgr. and MSA; v. also Hbr. pB. *gōbah*): Arb. *ḡabhat-* 'front', *ḡabah-* 'front large, vaste et beau', Tgr. *gōbbəhāt* 'forehead', Jib. *gəbhēt* 'front, brow', etc. (SED I No. 68) vs. Sem. *gabb(-at)-: Hbr. *gabbōt* *ʿēnayim* 'eyebrows', Arb. *ḡubbat-* 'os qui forme l'orbite de l'oeil', etc. (SED I No. 66).

Varia:

<> W. Chad. Miya *darhi*, Kariya *derahi* 'road, path, way' (Sk NB 37) vs. Jimbin *dāru*, Mburku *dēri* (ibid.), Gerka *der* (Fitz 219), Karekare *n-dārū* (Luk Kr 200) 'road', Buli *dērālū* 'to go' (CLR 162) < Afras. *dar-: Sem. Arb. *darar-* 'tracé; ligne d'une route, surtout droite' (BK 1 682), E. Cush. Yaaku *daar* 'road' (Hei Ya 132).

-(V)y (of the same origin as the relative suffix *-Vy(y)?)

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *ḡurpəday* vs. *ḡippōd* 'hedgehog' (< ~~k^(w)inpad-~~ // *~~kunpuḍ-~~ SED II No. 133; v. in -r Animal names). [] Jud. *nōšīšəyētā* 'pelican?' vs. *nəšāšā*, etc. 'hawk' < *na/ī(s)- 'kind of bird': Ugr. *nš* 'bird, wild bird' (perhaps a raptor, esp. 'hawk, falcon'), Hbr. *nōšā* 'falcon', etc. (SED II No. 168). [] Arb. *ḡubšīyyat-* 'espèce de fourmis grandes et noires' vs. Syr. *ḡabšūštā* 'scarabaeus', Tgr. *ḡabuš* 'a species of locusts' < *~~ḡVbVš_x-~~ 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 96). [] Gez. *bəḡrāy*, Tgr. and Tna. *bəḡray* vs. Gez. *bəḡr* in *~~bVṽVr-~~ 'houshold animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in -ḡ- Animal names). [] Gez. *dagobəyā* (*dagabəyā*, *dagobiya*, *dogabiyā*), Amh. *däg^{wä}əbe*, *dägobəya* vs. Tgr. *dängäbät*, Tna. *däg^{wä}bä* in *~~g^{wä}(n)dab-~~ // *~~ga(n)dab-~~ 'cricket, locust' (SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *ḡomḡay* 'fourmi qui mange le miel' vs. metathetic *ʔaḡ(ə)ḡma* (*ʔaḡḡomä*) 'ants', Gez. *ḡāhm* (*ḡəhm*, *ḡāḡm*) 'kind of ant; drone' (v. in *~~ḡVmh-~~ 'kind of insect' SED II No. 129). [] Amh. *waliya* vs. *wala* in *~~wafil-~~ 'ibex' (SED II No. 244; v. in -(V)n Animal names). [] Sem. *~~ʔa/irbay-~~ 'locust': Ugr. *ʔirby*, Sab. *ʔrby*, Soq. *ʔerbḡiyoh*, etc. vs. Akk. *erbu* and, probably, Amh. *arabo* 'tick afflicting cattle, etc.', Cha. Eža Muh. *wäräba*, Enn. Gyt. *wäräba*, Sod. *woraba* 'kind of cockroach' (SED II No. 11).

-Vr

Animal names:

[] Arb. *ḥinzīr*- (< Sem ***ḥV(n)zīr** 'pig': Akk. *ḥuzīru*, Hbr. *ḥāzīr*, Gez. *ḥanzir*, etc.) vs. *ḥanzuwān*-id. (and W. Chad. Hausa *gúnzú* 'wild boar' < ***ḥunz**-) SED II No. 111. [] Arb. *ḍabayṭarā* 'hyène' (BK 2 7; perhaps < ***ḍabay-t-ar**-, with **-t-** < ***-t-** assimilated to **ḍ-** or **-y-**) vs. *ḍabuṭ*-, *ḍabṭ*-'hyène', *ḍabuṭat*-, *ḍibṭānat*-'hyène femelle' (ibid.) < Sem. ***ṣab(u)ṭ**-'hyena' (SED II 220; v. in **-(V)n** Animal names). [] Tgr. *ḥənǰur* 'wasp or scarab' (less likely < Bilin *ḥənǰūr* 'k. of beetle', with a singulative suffix **-ra**) vs. Tna. *ḥənǰəǰ*, *ḥənǰiǰ*, *ḥənǰiǰ* 'kind of greenish-black beetle, scarab, cock-chaffer', Amh. *ənǰəz*, *ənǰiz* 'beetle', Cha. Eža Enm. End. Gyt. *ənǰəz*, Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənǰizza* 'May bug' in ***ḥVnz(i)uz**-'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Sem. ***g^wa(n)dVr** // ***ga(n)dVr**-'kind of worm' (SED II No. 81; v. in **-n** Animal names) vs. **gudgud*- (Arb. *ǰudǰud*-'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle'), **g^wandaṭ*- (Arb. *ǰandaṭ*-, *ǰunduṭ*-'espèce de sauterelle noire', Amh. *g^wande* 'very small red ant which eats grain', etc.) and **g^wVndan*- (Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan*, *g^wəndan* 'a kind of black ant which inflicts a painful bite') cf. also ***g^wa(n)dab** // ***ga(n)dab**-'cricket, locust' ibid. No. 80) to be eventually reduced to a common protoform ***gV(n)d-** with different extensions. [] (?) Sem. ***bVfVr**-'household animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in **-f** Animal names) vs. Cush.-Omot. **bVf*-. E. Cush. Yaaku *pēʔe*, S. Cush. Dahalo *bēʔa* 'buffalo', S. Omot. Hamar *buʔ* 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 53). [] Sem. ***baḳar**-'large cattle': Hbr. *bāḳār*, Arb. *baḳar*-, etc. (< Afras. **baḳVr*? Cf. Brb. E. Tawllemmet *əbuyer* 'chamelon d'un an' and W. Chad. Hausa *bāḳurnā* 'red-flanked duiker') vs. Afras. **baḳw*-. Brb. Nefusa *byu* 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *e-bāyāw* 'vieux boeuf', W. Chad. Hausa *ḥakwan* 'dwarf buffalo', E. Chad Kera *beke* 'Vieh' (SED II No. 59). [] Sem. ***zVn/mbVr**-. Jud. *zibbōrā* 'bee, wasp', *zybwry* 'hornet', Mnd. *zimbura* 'hornet, bee', *zambura* 'wasp, hornet', Arb. *zanbūr*-, *zinbār*-'guêpe', Gez. *zanbir* 'hornet, wasp' vs. Eth. ***zVn/mb**-. Gez. *zənb*, Tna. *zənbi*, Amh. *zəmb*, *zənb*, Arg. *zəmb*, Gaf. *zəmbä*, Har. *zəmbi*, Gur. (all dialects) *zəmb* 'fly' (v. in SED II No. 73; Eth. *z*- < ***ḍ-** or ***z-**; in the latter case comparable to Arb. *zibb*-'espèce de ver (*fistularia vitata*)' and C. Chad. Tera *zāḥā* 'termite' < ***zaHb**-). <> W. Chad. Jimi *walarōo* 'antelope' (Cosp No. 252) vs. Geji *wūlli* 'gazelle' (ibid.) < Afras. **waʔil*-'k. of goat, gazelle' (v. in ***waʔil**-'ibex' SED II No. 244). <> Chad. ***IVbVr**-'(large) feline': W. Chad. Sura *rəḥəl* 'wild cat' (met.), E. Chad. Somrai *lārbə* 'leopard' (met.), C. Chad. Hona *līfārī*, Chibak *ʔalvārī*, Kilba *lēvārī*, Margi *ḥa-livārī*, Higi-Nkafa *līvəri*, Gude *līvyārā*, Malgwa *érval* (met.) 'lion' vs. Sem. ***labVʔ**-'lion(ess)': Akk. *labbu* (*labʔu*), Hbr. *lābī*(?), etc. (SED II No. 144). <> C. Cush. **daḳ^war*-'donkey': Bilin *dūḳārā*, Khamir *dūḥarā*, Kemant *duḥwarā*, Qwara *dekarā*, Damot *dokuarī*, Aungi *duḥuarī* (CR Kem 184) vs. S. Cush. **daḳway*-id.: Iraqw Gorowa Alagwa Burunge *daqway* (KM 88), Qwadza *daḳwaikwayiko* (HRSC 345). <> (?) C. Cush. Bilin *sabarā* (pl. *sāfal*) 'Schlange', Khamir *sibrā* (pl. *sibír*, *sibíl*) id. vs. Sem. Akk. *šibbu* 'a snake' (not fully reliable), Gyt. *sība*, Cha. Eža *šiba*, etc. 'kind of worm', Hrs. *šebšebēt* 'small red worm, centipede', Mhr. *šəbšəb*, E. Jib. *šəbšəb* 'red waterworm' < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *súbó* 'worm', E. Cush. Oromo *siiba* 'worm', Somali *sumbay* 'tapeworm' (v. in ***šibb**-'kind of snake, worm' SED II No. 200).

<> E. Cush. Somali *tākār* 'gadfly, horsefly, camelfly' vs. Afras. **tVk^w(-an)*- 'kind of insect':
 Egypt. Pyr. *tkk-t* 'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Dahalo *takkwaʔe* 'dung beetle', etc. (in
 **k^wVl(t)ān*, **tuk^wān* // **ku(t)ān*, **tukān* 'bug' SED II No. 122). <> E. Cush. Somali *dámēer*
 'male donkey' (Abr Som 46), Bayso *demēr* 'ass' (Dolg 1973 275) vs. Afras. **dam(dam)*- 'k. of
 equid': Sem. Akk. *damdammu* (*damdāmu*, *daddāmu*) 'a mule' (CAD D 64), Brb. Zenaga *damma*
 'mahari (camel)' (R Bass Zen 204), Afar *daami* 'Zebra' (RAf 834). <> E. Cush. Tsamai and S.
 Omot. Ongota *hangarar-o* 'worm' (a loan from Tsamai into Ongota or vice versa) vs. Sem
 **hV(n)g* 'kind of worm, centipede': Tna. *ḥəngugu* 'kind of black worm living in water', Jib.
ḥəzōt 'large, blind black segmented centipede' (SED II No. 100). <> Afras. **ʒVmVr*- '(wild)
 ungulate': Sem. Ugr. *zmr*, Hbr. *zāmār*, etc., Brb. Siwa *i-zmər*, Semlal *izimer* 'bélier', Nefusa
zamər, Zenaga *əžiʔmər*, Qabyle *izimer* 'agneau', S. Cush. Dahalo *ʒumúru* 'male waterbuck' vs.
 Brb. Ahaggar *ehəm*, Ayr E. Tawlemmet *ezəm*, *ešəm* 'antelope oryx', Siwa *izəm*, pl. *izamm-ən*
 'gazelle', Zenaga *ə-žəmmi* 'gazelle à front roux' and, perhaps, W. Chad. Kulere *ʔnzām* 'Widder'
 (in **zVmr*- 'gazelle' SED II No. 253). <> Afras. **dV(n)gur*-. E. Chad. Gabri *dūgūru* 'elephant',
 Sokoro *dúger* 'rhinoceros', N. Omot. Zaise *dongor* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), S. Omot. Ari
dangór, Kara *dongur* id., etc. (Bnd Ar 149) vs. Cush.-Omot. **dangw*-. S. Cush. Iraqw *daangw*-
 'elephant' (KM 87), N. Omot. Kafa *dangiyō*, Mocha *dāngao* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), Shinasha
dángaso, *dəngiyō* (Bnd Om 163). <> Afras. **dVbVr*- 'kind of insect': Sem. Hbr. *dəbōrā* '(wild)
 honey-bee', Arb. *dabbūr*- 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dib^wara* (in
dib^wara zəmb) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., W. Chad. Ngamo *nḏəbūrō* 'locust', C.
 Chad. Gude *dəvūrəṅā* 'sausage fly', etc. vs. Afras. **dVb*- 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb.
dabaⁿ 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis' (cf. Arb. Omn. *dabiyy* 'abeilles'), W. Chad. Dera *dībīn*,
dīwīn 'fly', E. Chad. Kera *ádəbdəbə* 'Tsetsefliege' ('termite' in other Chad.), N. Omot. Hozo
dabbi 'termite' (**dī/ab(b)ūr*- 'bee, wasp' SED II No. 66). <> Afras. **ʒVbir*- 'hornet': Sem. Hrs.
debēr, Mhr. *dəbēr*, Jib. *edbir* 'hornet, fly' (probably also Soq. *édbehir* 'abeille'), Brb. Ahaggar
əzənbībər 'esp. de de coléoptères (4 cm long)', Ayr E. Tawlemmet *əzəbbenbər* (unless *z* < **ʒ*)
 'bubreste' (v. in **dī/ab(b)ūr*- 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Afras. **ʒibab*- 'kind of flying insect': Mhr
dəbbēt, Hrs. *debbēt*, Jib. *dəbbōt* (perhaps also Soq. *ʔedbíboh*) 'fly', W. Chad. Hausa *ʒībā* 'small
 anthill', Ngizim *ʒābūwā* 'honey; bee' (Sch Ng 183), C. Chad. Bura *ʒeba* 'locust in the hopper
 state', Fali-Gili *ʒībi* 'fly', Bata *ʒēbi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *ʒʒimbē* 'bee, honey' (in **dVb(V)b*-
 'fly', No. 73). <> Afras. **ʒVmVr*- 'k. of ungulate': Sem. **zVmr*- 'gazelle', Brb. Fodjaha *zamar*,
 Siwa *i-zmər* 'bélier', Zenaga *əžiʔmər*, Qabyle *izimər* 'agneau', S. Cush. Dahalo *ʒumúru* 'male
 waterbuck' vs. Brb. Ahaggar *ehəm*, Ayr *ezamm* 'antelope oryx', Siwa *izəm*, Zenaga *əžəmmi*
 'gazelle', (?) W. Chad. Kulere *ʔnzām* 'Widder' (v. in **zVmr*- 'gazelle' SED II No. 253). <> Afras.
 **ča/iw(a)r*- 'bull; elephant' (cf. **tawr*- 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 241)): Sem. Akk. *šūru*, Arb. *tawr*-,
 etc., C. Chad. Bura-Pele *čiwār*, Chibak *isiwār*, Kilba *čūwar*, Margi *čūwār*, Nzangi *čūware*
 'elephant', S. Cush. Maʔa *čurú* 'bull', N. Omot. Kačama *šoro* 'rhinoceros' vs. C. Chad.
 Higi-Nkafa *čuwe*, Bata *čūē* 'elephant' (CLR 124-5), probably also N. Cush. Beja *šu* 'rhinoceros'
 (Bla Beja 270 after Hudson; < **čVw*- or **sVw*-) and N. Omot. Basketo *ošáʔ*, Wol. *oswā*, Zala *osoā*
 'rhinoceros' (Bla Eleph 201; < **ʔV-čVw*- or **ʔV-sVw*-).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *kuḍr-* 'graisse des reins' (BK 2 905; perhaps related to W. Chad. Bolewa *šid̥ər*, Ngamo *šid̥ər* 'fat' if the latter ones are from **kičār-*, cf. Stolb 1987 208) vs. Afras. **kVw/yač-* 'fat': W. Chad. Hausa *kíçē* (less likely <**kičVr-*), E. Chad. Kwang *kāysi*, Sokoro *kāisi*, C. Chad. Muktele *ákwas*, Logone *kāysə* (CLR 132-3), N. Omot. Shinasha *kōcā*, *kosa*, *ḵ^woça*, Kafa *kočō* (Bnd Om 164), Mao (Seze) *ḵōssí*, Hozo *ḵoca* (ibid. 272), S. Omot. Dime *kuuštu* (ibid. 209). [] Eth. **ʕ/?anḵar* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *?anḵa/ār* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *?anḵār* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *?anḵār* 'ugola', Amh. *anḵä/ar* 'uvula', Arg *ənḵərt* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har *ənḵərti*, Masqan Goggot Soddo *ənḵərt* 'goitre' vs. **ʕ/pi/unk-* 'neck': Jud. *?i/unkā*, *?unkā*, Arb. *?unḵ-*, *?unuk-*, *?unak-* 'cou', etc. (cf. SED I No. 15). [] S. Eth.: Sel. *gubr*, Cha. Eža Enn. *g^wəbər*, Gye. *gub^wər* 'hunchbacked' vs. Amh. *g^wäbäbb alä* 'to be hunchbacked', Syr. *gəbībā* 'gibbosus', etc. < **gVb(V)b-*, **gVb(b)-an* 'hump, hunch' (SED I No. 67). [] Mod. Eth. **dnḵ^wr*. Tna. *dänḵ^wärä* 'to be dumb', Amh. *dänaḵḵ^wärä* 'to be deaf, dumb', Msq. Gog. *dänaḵḵ^wärä* 'to be deaf', Sel. *donḵōro* 'deaf, stupid', etc. (Lgur 215) vs. Eth. **dnḵ(w)*: Gez. *dänḵawa* 'to be deaf, stupid', Har. Sel. *dōnḵa*, Wol. *donḵä* 'deaf' < Sem. **dnḵ* 'to be deaf, stupid': Arb. *dāniḵ-* 'sot, bête' (SED I Vb. No. 9). [] MSA: Mhr. *gəšōr* 'side of chest' and perhaps 'chest cavity', Soq. *gīsōr* 'poitrine' (probably related to Arb. *ḵušrat-* 'aspérité de la voix, enrouement et toux', *ḵašar-* 'dureté, aspérité de la voix, provenant de l'enrouement, du rhume') vs. Mhr. *gəššēt* 'body, corpse', Jib. *gəššēt* 'side' < Sem. **gišš-* 'torso, side, body': Akk. *giššu* (*gilšu*) 'hip, flank', Hbr. pB. *gäsās* 'side, arm', Syr. *gessā* 'coxa, latus (linguae, palati); cingulum pubis', Arb. *ḵawš-* 'poitrine', likely < Afras. **gay/wč-*: W. Chad.: Diri *ngeše*, Geji *ngeši* 'chest', Polchi *gwəš* 'shoulder' (differently interpreted in Stolb 1996 119; cf. SED I No. 97). [] Soq. *m^ošimbəhər* 'moustaches longues' (<**mV-si(m)bVr* or, with -m- of the second syllable < -n- before -b-, < **mV-sinbVr*, with metathesis <**mV-nsibVr*) vs. *mənsūb* (<**mV-nsūb*, cf. *?ənsōb*, with *?V-* prefixed), Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mensōb*, Jib. *mōsōt* (<**mVsVb-Vt*) 'pubic hair' (in <**š/sVb-*, **?Vš/sVb-* 'pubic hair' SED I No. 239). [] Sem. **ḵanṭir-* 'clitoris, vulve': Arb. Dat. *ḵanṭār* 'clitoris', Soq. *ḵanṭhir* 'vulve', Amh. Sel. Wol. Cha., etc. *ḵənṭər* 'clitoris, female genital organ' (< Afras.? Cf. Oromo Qabenna *ḵinṭira*, Somali *ḵinṭir*, Saho *ḵinṭar* id., unless < Eth.; cf. SED I No. 163) vs. **ḵV(n)t-* 'sexual parts': Tur. *kūto* 'vulva' (Ritter 404), N.-Syr. *ḵūtā* 'womb' (Mcl 272), Arb. *ḵant-* 'verge chez un petit garçon' (BK 2 822; -t- < *-t- by dissimilation from ḵ-), Tna *ḵənt* 'vulva; lower or back part' (LH 252), Amh *ḵit* 'buttocks, anus' (K 826) < Afras. **ḵV(n)t/d-*: W. Chad. Hausa *kōḍā*, C. Chad. Gava *kiḍi-nwa*, Paduko *kūda-ma* 'testicles' (Stolb 1996 66), Mofu *kuḍey* 'pénis' (MG 148), etc., C. Cush. Bilin *qit* 'vulva' (RBeḍ 247), Khamir *ḥūdā* 'vulva; anus' (RKham 369), E. Cush. Somali *qood* 'penis with testicles' (Abr Som 203), Konso *qand-itta* 'udder; swollen or abnormally big gland', Burji *ḵānḍ-i* 'clitoris' (Sas Burji 124, with a different interpretation), S. Cush. Burunge *qendi*, Qwadza *ḵendi* 'vulva' (HRSC 368), S. Omot. Ari Galila *ḵanti* 'testicles' (Bla Beḍ 61, with a different interpretation of Cush.-Omot. data). [] Arb. *zanbūr-* 'membrum virile' vs. *zubb-* 'verge, pénis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle); bout de la barbe; nez', Hbr. pB *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member' < **zubb-* (SED I No. 293). [] Sem. **pi/akr-at-* 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Azr. *pḵarta* 'neck, nape', *fakrat-*, *fikrat-* 'vertèbre', Soq. *fikeriroh* 'cou, nuque' (cf. also metathetic **pi/ark-at-*:

Hbr. *maprākāt* 'neck', Syr. *pāraḳtā* 'cervices', etc.; v. in SED No. 219) vs. ***pVḳ-** 'neck': Jud. *ʔapḳōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *pḳuta*, *apḳuta* 'neck, throat', Arb. *fāʔiḳ-* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête', Tgr. *foḳay* 'shoulder' (SED I No. 213). [] Sem. ***ṣ(ḳ)nzr-** 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', ***ṣ(ḳ)VnzVr-** 'span' (cf. differently in SED I No. 251): Hbr. *mošzār* 'twisted' (hop., part.), Mnd. *šanziria* (pl.) 'the ropes', Arb. *šzr* 'retourner la main à droite en brandissant la lance; tordre, donner un tour de droite à gauche à la corde', Gez. *səz(ə)r* 'span', Tgr. *sənzər* 'palme', *sānzārā* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sānzārā* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *sənzər*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *šezər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *hāzer* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *šezr*, (C.) *šēzər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šēzir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizū* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD Š₃ 152; AHw 1254). [] Sem. ***SVt(V)r-** 'flat hand, span': Hbr. pB. *štr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *štr* (*aph*) 'to strike with the flat hand', Mhr. *šēṭər* 'measure, span between the end of the thumb and the forefinger' vs. ***si(n)t-** 'palm, span' (cf. in SED I No. 236): Hbr. pB. **sīt* in *ha-ssīt* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger when held apart, or between the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' (cf. *sēt* 'handle; swinging the forefinger'), Syr. *sītā* 'palmus', Arb. *sint-* 'poignet, os qui joint l'avant-bras à la main' (though Mhr. *šēṭər* points to *š- rather than to *s-, the coincidence in meaning with Hbr. **sīt* cannot be accidental). < Afras. **di(m)bur-* 'back': Sem. ***dVb(V)r-** 'back, hind part' (Mnd. *dibra* 'back, tail', Arb. *dubr-* 'partie postérieure, derrière; dos; nuque', etc. SED I No. 46), W. Chad. Hausa *dúbura* 'anus' (Abr Hs 227; unless < Arb.), Chip *bəder* 'buttocks' (Kr I 39; metathesis), C. Chad. W. Margi *dīmbur* id. (ibid. II 72), (?) E. Cush. Somali *ḍabar* 'back' (Abr Som 39; ḍ- instead of d- is unusual) vs. Afras. **dub-* ~ **damb-* 'tail; back': W. Chad. Sura *tup* 'tail' (< **dub-* Stolb 1987 169), C. Chad. Gisiga *duba*, Mafa *dəḥa*, Gidar *dūbo*, Musgu *dēba*, etc. 'back' (CLR 7), C. Cush. Bilin *dän/mbi* 'Rücken' (RBil 107), E. Cush. Somali *dabo* 'tail, buttocks' (Abr Som 40; cf. *dambe* 'at the back' ibid. 46), Oromo *duboo* 'sheep's tail' (Gr 110), Alaba *dubbo* 'tail', Hadiya *dubbo* 'behind', etc. (PEC 16), N. Omot. Kullo *dupia* (Bnd Om 25), Kafa Anfillo *dombō* 'vulva' (Cer Caf 430), S. Omot. Hamar *dibini* 'tail' (Bnd Om 218). < Afras. **ḥankar-* 'larynx, gorge': Brb. Ahaggar *t-ankar-t* 'gosier' (Fouc 1380), N. Cush. Beja (Amar'ar) *ḥānkar* 'uvula' (Bla Beḍ 58), *ankar* 'Gaumen, Schlund, Kehle' (ibid. after RBeḍ) vs. Afras. **ḥank-* 'palate, gorge': Sem. **ḥanak-*, **ḥink-*: Syr. *ḥenkā* 'palatum', Mnd. *hinka* 'palate, throat', Arb. *ḥanak-* 'palais', Gez. *ḥanaka* 'to munch, chew', Hrs. *ḥénnek* 'palate and uvula' (SED I No. 124), Brb. Ahaggar *ḥənəkk-ət* 'râler de la gorge' (Fouc 618), N. Cush. Beja *hanāk* 'Gaumen, Kehle' (RBeḍ 123; possibly but not necessarily borrowed from Arb.).

Varia:

[] Akk. *ḥamadīru* 'shrivelled or withered' (CAD H 57), *ḥamadīrūtu* 'shrivelling (said of trees)' (ibid. 58) vs. Sem **ḥmd* 'to be shrivelled, extinguished': Hbr. pB. *ḥmd* 'to produce shrivelling by heat' (Ja 475), Arb. *ḥmd* 'cesser de flamber (se dit du feu, quand la flamme s'éteint)' (BK I 630), Mhr. *ḥəmūd* 'to be extinguished, burnt out' (JM 443). [] Akk. *diḳāru* 'a bowl with a round bottom for serving and heating' (CAD D 157; cf. C. Cush. Bilin *darawqā*, *daraq^{wā}* 'Ton, Tonerde, Lehm': metathesis or -r- inserted?) vs. Soq. *deḳāḳhān* 'boue' (LS 133) < Afras. **dVḳ-* 'clay, earthenware':

Brb. Semlal *idəkki* 'argile à poteries' (Dest 20), W. Chad. **dVk-* 'to build, make of clay' (Stolb 1987 174) < **dik-* 'to build, established, marry' (Stolb 1996 38; semantically less convincingly): Hausa *ḍakō* 'dark, rich, dry clay-soil' (Abr Hs 175), Karekare *ḍako* 'to build, make earthenware pots', Sura *ḍik*, Chip *ḍík* 'to build' (Stolb 1987 174), C. Cush. Qwara *daḥ^{wā}*, Khamir *doq^{wā}* 'Ton, Lehm' (RQw 48); differently in Dolg 1973 56-7. [] Jud. *zūtār* 'small, young' (Ja 386), Syr. *zuṭārā* 'puellus' (Brock 194), Mnd. *zṭr* 'to be small' (DM 165) vs. Jud. *zūtā* 'slender, young, small' (Ja 385), Syr. *zūtā* 'puellus' (Brock 192), Mnd. *zuṭa* 'small, little' (DM 164). [] Arb. *ḵmṭr* 'nouer, lier une outre, etc.' (BK 2 813) vs. *ḵmṭ* 'lier avec la corde tous les quatre pieds à la fois; réunir (les chameaux) de manière qu'ils se suivent à la file' (ibid.), Gez. *ḵammaṭa* 'to hold tightly, bind sheaves, bend' (LGz 433; counter to Leslau, not directly related to Sem. **ḵmṣ*, unless to be treated as a variant root). [] Amh. (*tä*)*gäddärä* 'germinate', Har. *g(i)dīr* 'big', Wol. Zw. *gädärä* 'to grow up (child), be big' (LGur 264), Arb. *ḡdr* 's'élever au-dessus du sol (se dit des plantes)' (BK 1 263) < Sem. **gdr* 'to become big, grow' vs. Afras. **gVd(d)-*: Arb. *ḡidd-* 'beaucoup, extrêmement' (ibid. 260), Brb. C. Morocco (without specifying the language) *gudy* 'ê. nombreux, beaucoup, abonder', *sgudy* 'produire beaucoup, en grande quantité' (DRB 737-8; cf. Ahaggar *egdeh*, Ayr *egdu* 'suffire' ibid. 727), W. Chad. Bolewa *godo* 'many' (Kr I 87), N. Cush. Beja *gwud* 'many', E. Cush. Arbore *guudā* 'many', Dasenech *guddu* 'big' (Bla Om No. 5.2), Oromo *guddaa* 'big; greatly, very' (Gr 184), S. Omot. Dime *geed* 'big' (Bnd Om 205), Ongota *gadaḥ/hune*, *gaddahino* (Fl Ong 42), *gaddaḥuni*, pl. *giddeḥeta* 'big, old' (S-T 117). [] Arb. *kaṭīr-* 'beaucoup, nombreux' (BK 2 867) vs. *kṭt* 'ê. épais, épaissi (liquide)' (BK 1 865), Akk. *kašāšu* 'massig werden' (AHw 462; not in CAD) < Afras. **kVč-*? Cf. C. Chad. Mbara *kočo* 'many, much' (TSL 283), C. Cush. Khamta *eksāt* 'molto' (CR Khmt 204). [] Cha. Eža *məsarä*, Enn. Gye. *məsa?arä* 'night' (LGur 430: "probably from the root *msy* 'be evening' (see *mäsä*) with an enigmatic suffix *-rā*") vs. Cha. Gye. *mäsä*, Eža *mäsšä*, etc. 'to be evening' < Sem. **(?a-)mVš-* 'evening, night': Gez *mäsyä* 'evening', Hbr. *?ämäs* 'yesterday evening', Arb. *msy* 'to become evening' (ibid. 432). [] Cha. Eža etc. *mäčra* 'when?' (for the past) vs. Cha. Eža Gye. etc. *mäčä* 'when?' (for the future) < Sem.: Amh. *mäčä*, Arb. *matā*, Hbr. *mātay* id. (LGur 387). [] Enn. *näb?atəra*, Gye. *näb?atra* 'fourth day ago' vs. Enn. Gye. *näb?atä* 'fourth day from today' < *nab?āt* 'four days' < *arbāt* < *rb?* (LGur 447). [] Cha. Eža Gye. Msq. *gädär* 'new' (LGur 264) vs. Arb. *ḡadīd-* 'neuf, nouveau, récent' (BK 1 261). [] Jib. *gədrēt* 'earth' (compared in JJ 71 with Soq. *gədhār* 'reddish-brown', not in LS) vs. Arb. *ḡadad-* 'terrain uni et dur' (BK 1 260) < Afras.: C. Chad. Banana *nā-gada* 'Erde' (Lk ZSS 129), E. Chad. Sokoro *gēdē* 'fertile soil' (ibid. 42), S. Cush. Dahalo *gudde* 'land' (EEN 32). [] Arb. *mizr-* 'sorte de boisson faite de millet', *mazar-* 'sorte de boisson enivrante préparée de froment' (BK 2 1099), Sab. *mzr-m* 'date-wine' (SD 89), Gez. *mazara* 'to prepare beer from grain', *məzr* 'beer, ale' (LGz 379) vs. Akk. *mazū* adj. qualifying beer OA, SB (CAD M1 439) < Afras.: C. Cush. Bilin *māz*, Qemant *mīz*, E. Cush. Saho *mez* 'mead' (LGz 377; cf. Afar *mes* id. below). [] Gez. *məsr* 'beer, ale' (LGz 367; cf. *məzr* 'beer, ale' above) vs. Gez. *mys*, *mesa* 'to serve mead at a banquet', *mes* 'drink made from fermented honey, mead', Tna. Tgr. *mes* 'mead' id. (ibid. 377; otherwise all from Cush.) < Sem. **mayt-*: Arb. *myt* 'dissoudre quelque chose dans l'eau, et macérer une drogue dans l'eau'; VIII 'boire quelque chose après avoir délayé d'eau' (BK 2 1170) < Afras. **miwač-* 'alcoholic

drink': W. Chad. Mupun *mwés* 'alcoholic drink' (Fr Mup 39), Sura *mwəs* 'Bier' (Jung Sura 206), Ankwe *mwess*, Montol *mūs* 'beer' (Fitz 214), E. Cush. Afar *mēs* 'Honigwein, Hydromel' (RAf 884; < Eth? Cf. Saho *mez*, v. above), Oromo *mačč-aawa* (HEC 54; cf. comments in HSED No. 1702: "note -č- preserved in Oromo in contrast to the expected reflex of *č > LEC *s, *š"; on the contrary, I tend to Oromo *f* < Afras. *č while -čč- in the above case seems unusual), Konso *maasš-ooč-* 'to get drunk' (Lmb-Sot 475), Darasa *maččo?*, Burji *mass-aaw-* 'to be drunk' (HEC 54; cf. Sidamo *maččarar-*, Kambatta *maččaar-* 'to be crazy', commented in Lmb-Sot 475 as "addition of a formative suffix"), Gawwada *mečč-aw-*, Dobase *mass-a?* 'to get drunk, intoxicated' (Lmb-Sot 475), N. Omot. Wolayta *matt-oot-*, Gamo *matts-ott-*, Kafa *maš-*, Bworo *mašš-* 'to get drunk' (ibid. 474-5). [] Jib. *esber* 'to fence off' (JJ 232) < Afras? Cf. Eyp. Pyr. *sb* 'Tor, Tür' (EG IV 83; likely < **sbr*), W. Chad. Hausa *čábarā* 'wooden stakes used to strengthen a mat screen' (Barg Hs 1021) vs. Arb. (Oman) *sība* 'fortification', Gez. *sibā* 'outskirts of a city' (according to LGz 482, probably from Omanic Arb.) < Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. Bura *čiba* 'a fence or pen; an outside enclosure for cattle' (Bura 37), E. Cush. Afar *sabsab* 'Mauer' (RAf 895); cf. CHVAL 3 20-21. [] Sem. **zmr* 'to sing, play an instrument': Akk. Ugr. Hbr. Syr. Arb. Eth. (HAL 273; LGz 639; DRS 751) vs. **zm(m)* ~ **zmzm* 'to sound, resound; sing': Syr. *zam* 'susurravit, sonuit' (Brock 198), Mnd. *zmm* 'to hum, resound' (DM 169), *zwm* 'to hum, buzz' (ibid. 164), Arb. *zmzm* 'produire un murmure qu'on peut entendre au loin' (BK 1 1011), Gez. *zemā* 'song, liturgical chant', Tna. Amh. Gur. *zema* 'song, mode of singing', Gez. *zəmmāme*, Tna. Amh. *zemmama* 'rhythm of singing, etc.' (LGz 638). [] Sem. **kidr-* 'earthenware' (cf. Akk. *dikāru* 'a bowl with a round bottom for serving and heating' above): Hbr. pB. *ḳādēr*, Jud. *ḳīdērā* 'pot' (Ja 1318), Syr. *ḳedrā* 'olla' (Brock 649), Arb. *ḳidr-* 'chaudron, marmite en cuivre' (BK 2 686), Mhr. *ḳādər* 'pot' (JM 224; probably an Arabism) vs. Afras. **ḳwad-* or **ḳadw-*: (metathetically related to Afras. **dVḳ-* 'clay, earthenware' above?): Akk. *ḳadūtu* 'mud, sediment' (CAD Q 52), Eyp. Med. *ḳd* 'Topf' (EG V 72), Pyr. *īḳd-w* 'Topfer' (EG V 74), W. Chad. Kirfi *ḳwaḏo*, Gera *ḳwaḏa* 'calabash', E. Chad. Dangla *ḳoḏa* 'pot' (HSED No. 1579), E. Cush. Oromo *qodā* 'furniture; vessel' (Gr 325), *qadāda* 'cover; vessel; gourd' (ibid. 314), S. Cush. Dahalo *k'ōdo* 'long narrow calabash' (EEN 19; cf. HSED Nos. 1579 and 1534). < Brb. Ahaggar *asafār* 'médicament' (Fouc 1808; cf. also Qabyle *asafār* 'ingrédient' Dal 761) vs. Sem. Arb. *sifā?* 'médicament', *sfw* III 'traiter un malade' (BK 1 1104), Tgr. *sāffā* 'to cure, treat medically' (LH 202; hardly < Arb., cf. Tna. *sāfāfā* 'to rub, anoint, massage' K Tna 800), probably < Afras., cf. Brb. Ahaggar *ésafé* (Fouc 1806), Ayr E. Tawllemmet *esāfe* (Aloj 170) 'ventouse', C. Chad. Musgu *šimfi* 'heilen' (Luk Msg 76); cf. CHVAL 3 19. < W. Chad. Ngizim *gāzbār* 'tall, long, deep' (Sch Ng 73) vs. Afras. **gVǰVb-* 'long': Sem. Arb. *ǰadbat-* 'certain distance, certaine étendue de route, distance entre deux relais', *ǰdb* 'tirer; éloigner un objet d'un autre en le tirant à soi' (BK 268), Jib. *ǰóǰb* 'to pull out' (JJ 71), Mhr. *gəḏōb* id. (JM 115), E. Cush. Gawwata *sikāpa* (< **zigab-*), Harso Gollango *sikaapa* (AMS 254; metathesis) 'lang', S. Omot. Hamar *gúdúb* 'long' (Bnd Om 213: synchronically treated as *gúd+úb* which needs argumentation). < Afras. **bVhVr-*: Sem. Hbr. Jud. Syr. Mnd. *bhr* 'to shine, be bright' (HAL 112), Arb. *bhr* 'to shine', *brh* (met.) 'to be white', Gez. *barha* (met.) 'to shine, be bright, light', Soq. *birihot* (met.) 'light' (LGz 103-4), Chad. **buhar-* 'to shine' (Stolb 1996 25): W.

Chad. Tangale *bər*, Boghom *buur*, C. Chad. Bachama *bura*, Musgu *bara* vs. Afras. **bVhVw*:- Arb. *bhw* 'briller', *bahā*?- 'éclat, splendeur' (BK 1 174), W. Chad. Bokkos *bwè* 'Sonne' (Jung R 140), Daffo-Butura *bwè* 'Sonne, Tag' (ibid. 213), C. Chad. Dghwede *bíyà* 'light' (Frick), Glavda *mḥi* 'shine' (RM 65). <> (?) Afras. **ĉa(m)bVr*:- 'musical instrument': Tgr. *sābara* 'a flute-melody' (LH 183), W. Chad. Hausa *sámḥará* 'piece of corn-stalk rubbed between hands as accompaniment to fiddle' (Abr Hs 774), N. Omot. Mocha *šúmbiro* 'flute of shepherd' (LMč 51) vs. **ĉabVb*:- 'reed pipe, flute': (?) Akk. OAkk. *šabītu* 'a musical instrument' (Gelb OA 263), Arb. *šabābat* 'flûte, roseau à jouer' (BK 1 1181), Egypt. Med. *šbb* 'Röhre aus Schilfrohr' (EG IV 439). <> Afras. **(?a-)da(n)g^(w)Vr*:- 'kind of beans': Sem. Syr. *daḡr*-, Arb. *daḡr*-, *duḡr*-, *duḡur*-, Mhr. *dēḡir*, Jib. *dəḡərät*, pl. *dugur*, Soq. *dígir* (Tgr. *ḡadungwəra*, Tna. *ḡadangwəra*, Amh. *adāngware*, Gaf. *adāngwarä*, S. Arg. *adongure*, Gur. *adāngwarre* id. ibid. are likely Cushitisms), E. Chad. Sokoro *dagir* 'millet', C. Cush. Bilin Khamir *adogur*, Damot Aungi *adangwari* 'bean', E. Cush. Som. *digir* 'fagioli', Oromo *adangwar* 'beans' (cf. also *otongora* id.), Saho *adagur* id. vs. Afras. **da/ing^(w)*:- 'kind of beans; corn': Sem. Soq. *dengo* 'haricots', Egypt. OK *ddw* 'kind of grain', Brb. Ayr *te-dāngāw-t* 'grenier de céréales', W. Chad. Hausa *dangwa-mi* 'a gruel made with the mealy pulp found inside locust-bean pods', Angas *tang* 'com', E. Chad. Nanchere *tinge* 'bean', (?) C. Cush. Bilin *bal dangwā* 'Bohne, Faba', E. Cush. Saho *bar/ldangā* 'ein bestimmte Bohnengattung' (the meaning of the first element of these composed words is not clear); v. in Mil Farm 140.

-**V** (Brock. ZS)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *ḥurbabillu* (*urbabillu*) vs. Arb. *ḥirbā*?- and, possibly, Ebl. *ḥur-ba-um* in **ḥVrb*:- 'chameleon' (SED II No. 101). [] Arb. *ḡadlā*?- 'chienne' (BK 1 267; < Afras.? Cf. E. Cush. Oromo *gedallo* 'sciacallo' Thiene 126) vs. Chad. (cf. also Arb. *ḡabū ḡaḡdat* 'loup' Belot 63): W. Chad. Ngizim *ḡadā-múzái* 'hyena' (CLR 204), C. Chad. Dghwede *ḡdē*, Mofu *ḡidēy*, E. Chad. Mokilko *ḡedē* 'dog' (ibid. 107). [] Gog. Muh. Msq. *ḡamčəlla* 'gnat' (č < *ḡ with dissimilation from ḡ-? Cf. also Cha. Enn. Gye. *ḡamčəna*, Eža *ḡamčənnə*) vs. **ḡam(a)s*:- 'kind of (harmful) insect': Jud. *ḡamšā* 'locust', Arb. *ḡamaš*:- 'petites mouches ou petits insectes qui rasent la surface d'une eau stagnante; petites sauterelles qui viennent d'éclore', Jib. *ḡīḡḡ* 'kind of camel bug' (SED II No. 131). [] Sem. **ḡawzal*:- 'young bird, fledgling' (cf. SED II No. 86): Hbr. *ḡōzāl* 'turtledove; young eagle', Jud. *ḡōzālā* 'brood, chick, esp. pigeon', Arb. *ḡawzal*:- 'petit (de pigeon)' (likely related is Amh. *ḡəz(z)al* 'k. of bird of prey' -- cf. the second meaning of the Hbr. term), probably metathetically related to Afras. (cf. also Syr. *zūgallā* 'pullus columbinus' with the same order of radicals as in Chad. and Cush. below): W. Chad. Hausa *ḡigāl* 'vulture', C. Cush. **ḡ/ḡVgl*:- 'bird': Bilin *ḡayalā*, Dembea Qwara *ḡaglā* vs. Sem. **ḡ^waz*- or **ḡVz*- (SED II No. 87): Amh. *ḡwəza* 'a kind of hawk', Gez. *ḡwəzā*, *ḡuzā* 'bird of prey, falcon, hawk', Hbr. pB. *ḡaz* (*gas*) 'name of a bird of prey', etc. (SED II No. 87; cf. also E. Chad. Dangla *ḡūzī* 'passereau' ibid.). [] Sem. **ḡaml*:- ~ **ḡVVM*:- 'kind of insect': Akk. *ḡilammu* 'a locust', Hrs. *ḡemlēt* 'animal bug, pest', etc. (SED II No. 109) vs. Akk. *ḡamītu* 'Sandwespe' < Afras.? Cf. Egypt. NE *ḡmy* 'Sandfliege' (unless < **ḡml*). [] Sem. **nam(V)l*:- 'ant': Akk. *namalu*, Hbr. *nəməlā*, Arb. *naml*-, etc. vs. Arb. *nimm-at*:- 'ant, louse'

likely < Afras.: C. Chad. Daba *nīmī* 'termite qui vole' (unless an Arabism) and S. Cush. Alagwa *namahá* 'termites' (in SED II No. 163). [] (?) Sem. ***kVr(V)l-** 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 136): Syr. *ḵurlā* 'grus', Arb. *ḵirillā* 'espèce d'oiseau', Gog. *ḵarulle* 'kind of bird' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Dangla *kōrla* 'oiseau passériforme, très coloré', E. Cush Yaaku *kil'érúá* 'Egyptian vulture') vs. ***k^wānī/y-** // ***k^wānī/y-** 'kind of bird, partridge': Hbr. *ḵōrē(?)* 'partridge', Arb. *ḵāriy-at*, *ḵāriyy-at* 'sorte d'oiseau aux jambes courtes, au bec long et au plumage du dos vert', Amh. *ḵ^wərəyye* (*ḵuriyyā*) 'migrating crane; large white crane with a long beak', probably related to Afras. ***k^wayr-** 'kite, raven, crow': Sem. Gez. *ḵāḵer* 'crow', Amh. *ḵ^wəra* (*ḵura*) 'crow, raven' (< C. Cush.?), etc., E. Chad. Dangla *kōré* 'espèce de corbeau noir', C. Cush. Khamta *qurā*, Qwara *qurā*, Aungi *ḵura*, E. Cush. E.: Oromo *ḵurruu*, Hadiya *ḵor-aan-ta*, N. Omot. Wolayta *ḵuuruwa*, Bworo *aḵoḵora*, etc. 'crow' (SED II No. 134). [] Afras. ***dVbal-** 'ram, goat, calf': Sem. Arb. *dawbal-* 'wild boar, suckling pig', Gez. *dābelā* 'billy goat, bull, male of any animal', Tgr. *dābela* 'ram', Tna. *dibāla*, Amh. *dabela*, *dābāl* 'billy goat' (LGz 120-21; in view of a very tenable Arb. parallel, less likely < Cush. as Leslau asserts, while E. Cush. Saho Afar *dabeēla* 'billy goat' are rather borrowed from Eth.), N. Cush. Beja *debala* 'einjährige Kuh', E. Cush. Baiso *dabaalo* 'heifer' (cf. in Bla FB 243) vs. Afras. ***dab(Vy)-** 'young bull': Sem. Arb. *dabab-* 'veau qui vient de naître' (BK 1 662), Har. *dābāy* 'female calf, heifer' (LHar 53; otherwise < *dabāl-* to be placed with the forms in -l), (?) Eyp. Med. *db* 'horn', N. Cush. Beja *dʔabi* 'stallion, male (of all kinds of domestic cattle) kept for breeding', E. Cush. Somali *dibi* 'calf, bull', Oromo (Wellega) *dibi-čča* 'young bull' (cf. Bla FB 242; counter to Blažek, nothing in common either semantically or phonetically with Cushitic and Omotic forms meaning 'lion' and Sem. and Eyp. forms meaning 'jackal, hyena', all < Afras. ***ǵVʔVb-** 'kind of predator', v. in SED II No. 72). <> W. Chad. Hausa *tākālī* 'a variety of grasshopper' vs. Afras. ***tVk^w(-an)-** 'kind of insect' (in ***k^wVt(t)ān- ~ *tuk^wān- // *kut(t)ān- ~ *tukān-** 'bug', SED II No. 122; v. in **-Vr** Animal names). <> E. Chad. Bidiya *ḡārākilo* vs. Dangla *ḡārko*, Migama *ḡārākú* 'grue couronnée' < Afras.? Cf. Sem.: Akk. *umīḵu* 'Kranich?', Arb. *ḡimīḵ-*, *ḡurnūḵ-*, etc. 'grue' (v. in ***yVmīḵ-** 'crane' SED II 91). <> E. Chad. Kera *tókorlé* 'Rebhuhn' (Eb 125) vs. Dangla *tòokrò* 'oiseau (petit barbu)' (Fedry 168), Tumak *dòḵḡīyā* 'oiseau sp.' (Capr 123; ***t-** > Tumak *d-*, according to Stolb 1996 30, 97) < Afras.: Sem. ***tVkur(r)-** 'kind of bird' (SED II 226; v. in **tV-** Animal names). <> E. Cush. Oromo *bučulā*, Alaba *bučilla*, Darasa *bučulla* 'puppy' (LGur 130; according to Leslau, "to be identified with *bučo* 'dog' with augmented -l to express the diminutive") vs. Oromo *buči* 'dog', Kambatta *buččo* 'interjection one uses to call a dog', Qabenna *bučbučča* 'puppy' (ibid.) <> (?) Afras. ***waʕil-** 'k. of goat, gazelle': Sem. ***waʕil-** 'ibex' (v. in **-(V)n** Animal names), Brb. Ghadames *welli*, *wulli*, Ahaggar *ulli* 'chèvre', Qabyle *ulli* 'brebis', W. Chad. Jimi *walaróo* 'antelope', Geji *wúlli* 'gazelle', E. Cush. Somali *ʕawl-* 'Soemmering's Gazelle', Rendille *ḥool* 'gazelle' (both < ***ʕawVl-** with metathesis), Sidamo *wilii-l-icco* 'young (of sheep, goat)' vs. Afras. ***waʕ-** 'goat': Eyp. OK *wʕ-ty* 'Ziege', W. Chad. Bokkos Daffa-Butura *wòʔ* 'Ziegenbock', C. Chad. Mbara *wahay* 'chèvre', N. Cush. Beja *weeyu* 'ibex' (v. in ***wafil-** 'ibex' SED II No. 244).

Anatomy:

[] Akk. *kiṣallu*, *kiṣillu*, *kisallu*, *kisillu* 'ankle bone' (< **kīša/illu*) vs. *kimṣu*, *kinṣu*, *kiṣṣu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg' vs. **k(ʷ)Vṣ-*, **k(ʷ)Vṣs-* (cf. SED I No. 172 with a different interpretation): Arb. *kaṣāṣ-*, *kuṣāṣ-*, *kiṣāṣ-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *kaṣāṣ-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *kaṣṣ-*, *kuṣaṣ-* id., Gez. *kʷəyṣ*, *kʷəṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', Gye. *kaṭəyā* 'joint of foot', Soq. *miḳṣeh* 'articulation, falangue', etc. [] Hbr.-Aram. **kVrsul-*: Hbr. **karsullayim* (dual) 'ankles', Jud. *ḳarsullā*, *ḳarsulā* 'ankles', Syr. *ḳurṣālā* 'talus; ala, axilla' (cf. also Soq. *karṭolləh* 'mollet', a variant root) vs. Sem. **ḳarsaw*: Tgr. *ḳarso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənḳərša*, Gog. Sod. *ənḳərša* 'ankle', Mhr. *ḳərṣāt* 'kneecap' (otherwise < **kVrṣal*) in **kVrs(ʷ)-ull-* 'ankle' SED I No. 169. [] Syr. *purṣālā* 'ungula (caprae)' (-š- instead of the expected -s-) vs. *parsōtā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', Jud. *prsh*, *prsth* (det.) 'hoof, split hoof', Mnd. *pras* (st. constr. only) 'palm (of hand)' < **pa/irs-* 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED I No. 220). [] Arb. *ḥiskilat-āni* 'les testicules' (dual) vs. Soq. *ḥošk* 'vulve' (v. in **?i/ušk(at)-* 'testiculus', SED I No. 111). [] Arb. *damāl-* 'fumière' vs. *dimmat-* 'crottin, boule de fiente', *dimn-* 'crottin, fiente des bêtes' < **dVm(an)-* 'dung' (SED I No. 53; v. in *-(V)n* Anatomy). [] Arb. *ḡablat-*, *ḡublat-* 'bosse du chameau' vs. *ḡabab-* 'plaie faite par le bâ à la bosse du chameau' < **gVb(V)b-*, **gVb(b)-an-* 'hump, hunch' (SED I No. 67; v. in *-Vr* Anatomy). [] Amh. *šəfāl*, Arg. *šəffāl* 'eyebrow' vs. Amh. *šəfašəft*, Tna *šifašəfti* 'eyebrow' < **šV(ʷ)p-at-* '(tuft of) hair': Arb. *šaʿfat-* 'mèche de cheveux, tupet, cheveux', Hrs. *šāfēt* 'hair', etc. (SED I No. 259). [] Sem. **šimaʔl-* 'left hand (side)': Akk. *šumēlu*, Arb. *šimāl*, Jib. *šəmlēt*, etc. (and metathetic Sab. *h-s₂ʔml* 'to be northward (?)', Min. *s₂ʔml-s₁* 'vers le nord'), likely < Afras.: Brb. **a-zəlmaḍ* 'left' (Ahaggar *ahelmaḍ* Fouc 595, Qabyle *azelmaḍ* Dal 944, etc.), supposedly < **a-zəlmaʔ-t* < **-ĉilmaʔ-t*, metathetically related to Sem. **šimaʔl-* vs. **šaʔm-* 'left': Arb. *šaʔmat-* 'côté gauche', Sab. *s₂ʔm* 'North', Min. *s₂ʔm* 'nord', Jib. *šīn* 'gauche' (< **šimn* influenced, according to LS 64, by *īn* 'droite'); v. in SED I No. 264. [] Sem. **š/sukl-* 'leg, thigh; elbow' (SED I No. 242): Arb. *sukl-* 'flanks, hypocondres', *ṣukl-*, *ṣuklat-*, *ṣaḳlat-* id., Tgr. *ṣəṇḳəlīt* 'coude', Amh. *ṣəḳəll*, Zw. *ṣikile* 'elbow', Soq. *sukaḷ* 'pied' vs. **šak-* 'leg bones (thigh-, splint- and shinbone)' (SED I No. 241): Akk. *sīku* 'lap, thigh', Ugr. *šk* 'thigh', Hbr. *šōk* 'Schenkel, Wadenbein', Bib. *šāḳōhī* (du. suff.) 'shin, leg', Jud. *šāḳā*, *šāḳḳā*, *šōḳā* 'joint, leg, foreleg', Syr. *šāḳā* 'femur, crus', Mnd. *šaḳa* 'limb, leg, shin', Arb. *sāḳ-* 'jambe, tibia', Tgr. *səḳuḳa* 'forearm, lower part of the leg' < Afras. **saḳ-*: W. Chad: Bolewa Ngamo *šeke* 'leg' (CLR 220), Sha *səkaʔu* 'Bein, Fuss' (Jung R 288), C. Chad.: Muktele *šīk*, Mafa *sāk* 'leg' (CLR 221), Masa *sok* 'bone' (ibid. 37). [] Sem. **gVd(V)l-* 'limb' (SED I No. 73): Hbr. pB. *gūdāl*, *ʔāgūdāl* 'thumb, great toe' (otherwise < *gādāl* 'to be high, large'), Arb. *ḡadl-*, *ḡidl-* 'membre quelconque du corps; verge, penis; tendon (des mains ou des jambes); os entier, non facturé', Mhr. *gēdəl* (*gəḏəwwəl*, *ḥəgdəl*), Hrs. *gēdel*, Jib. *gēdəl* 'foot' vs. **(ʔa)g(ʷ)ad-* '(part or bone of the) leg of animal' (SED I No. 71; v. in *?V-* Anatomy). [] Sem. **tpl* 'to spit' (SED I No. 73): Arb. *tfl*, Mhr. *təfūl*, Hrs. *tefōl*, Jib. *tfōl* (cf. also Hbr. *tāpēl* 'something unsalted, insipid, dull', *tpl* 'to utter stupidity, speak foolishly') vs. **ṭpp* 'to spit' (SED I No. 72): Hbr. *tōpāt* 'spittle, expectoration', Jud. *təpap*, *təpē*, Arb. *tff*, Gez. *tafʔa*, Tgr. *tāfʔa*, Tna. *tāfʔe*, Amh. *tāffa*, Arg. *tāffa*, Har. *tufbāya*, Wol. *tufbalä*, Cha. *tāfä*, etc., (?) Jib. *tfēf* 'worthlessness in this world and perdition in the next'. [] Sem. **ka(w)hil-* ~ **?Vn-ḳulalih-* 'egg' (SED I No. 170):

Tna. *ʔənḵulalih*, Amh. *ənḵwəlal*, Mhr. *ḵáwhəl*, etc. vs. Eth. **ʔan-ḵwak^wVh-*: Gez. *ʔanḵok^wəho*, Tgr. *ʔənḵokḵo*, Tna. *ʔənḵwak^wəho*, Har. *aḵuḥ*, etc. id. (SED I No. 160) < Afras.: (?) N. Cush. Beja *k^wahi* (RBeḍ 137; < **ḵ^wah-* or **k^wah-*), E. Cush. Oromo *hanqāqū/ō* (Gr 200; < **ḵanḵak^w-* with metathesis?), S. Cush. Maʔa *hohoha*, *ikokoha* (< **ḵVḵḵVh-*), Iraqw *qānhī* (HRSC 253). < S. Omot. Dime *kəsil*, Ari *kasel* 'tooth', Ongota *kaasala* 'molar' (Bla Omot No. 90.3; E. Cush. Tsamai *kaasala* 'molar' is more likely a loan from S. Omot. than vice versa) vs. Afras.: Arb. *kss* 'avoir les dents petites et courtes', *kasas-* 'petitesse des dents' (BK 2 894; otherwise from, or contaminated with, *kss* 'casser, broyer en très-petits morceaux' *ibid.*), Brb. Semlal *á-ḵus* 'tooth', Zenaga *ūks-ən* 'teeth', N. Cush. Beja *kōs* 'tooth', S. Cush. Qwadza *koʔosi-ko* 'molar' (Bla Om No. 90.3). < Cush. **ḵV(n)ṭal-* 'sexual parts': N. Cush. Beja *kanṭal* 'penis' (Bla Beḍ 61), S. Cush. Qwadza *ḵucalu* 'clitoris' (*ibid.* after Ehret; likely also C. Cush. Khamir *q^wacel* 'scrotum' *ibid.*, though *-c-* < **-ṭ-* is difficult), probably < Afras. **ḵ^wa(n)ṭal-*: W. Chad. Hausa *ḵwālātāi* 'testicles' (Abr Hs 539; metathesis < **ḵ^walaṭ-?*), vs. Afras. **ḵV(n)ṭ/d-* 'sexual parts' (v. in **-Vr** Anatomy).

Varia:

[] Akk. *amšali* (also *šamšali*, likely by contamination with *šamš-* 'the sun') 'yesterday' OB, Mari, SB (CAD A₂ 79-; *l* in Akk. is usually explained by analogy with *timāli* 'yesterday' < Sem.: Hbr. *təmōl*, *ʔitmōl*, *ʔātmūl*, etc., Syr. *ʔetmāli*, Gez. *təmālēm*, etc. 'yesterday' LGz 368, attested, however, in later texts, v. CAD A₂ 79) vs. *amšat* SB id. ("probably...a scribal error" *ibid.*), *mūšu* 'night' (*ibid.* M₂ 291), Hbr. *ʔāmāš* 'last night, yesterday', Arb. *masāʔ-* 'evening', *musy-*, *ʔamsi* 'yesterday', Gez. *məsyat* 'evening, twilight', Soq. *ʔimšin* 'evening', etc. (LGz 368) < Afras.: S. Cush. Iraqw *amsiʔ* 'wee hours of the night', Burunge Alagwa *amasi* 'night', Qwadza *amasi-ya* 'tomorrow' (HRSC 297; probably also N. Cush. Beja *amās* 'späte Abend, Nacht, Dunmkelheit, Finsterniss' RBeḍ 19, unless < Arb). [] S. Eth. Amh. (*tä*)*g^wābbälä*, Har. (*tä*)*gēbäla* 'to sit down', Wol. (*tä*)*gobälä*, Sel. (*tä*)*gōbälä* 'to sit (down), ride' (LGur 256) vs. Amh. *g^wəbb alä*, Har. (*tä*)*gēba* 'to sit down', Zw. (*tä*)*gūbī* 'to sit down, ride' (*ibid.*; Leslau wonders whether Amh. *g^wəbb alä* is in any connection with the Zw. form and regards Har. (*tä*)*gēba* an abbreviated form from (*tä*)*gēbäla* while the three forms quoted could hardly "lose" the Auslaut *-l* independently from each other) < Sem.? Cf. Arb. *ḵbw* 'se jeter la face contre terre, se prosterner' (BK 1 251). [] Sem. **yarpal-* 'cloud, mist': Ugr. *yrpl* 'nube, nubarrón' (DLU 160), Hbr. *ʔārāpāl* 'thick darkness' (HAL 888), Jud. *ʔarpillā* 'cloud, spray, mist' (Ja 1123), Syr. *ʔarpellā* 'vapor, nubes' (Brock 549), etc. vs. Sem. **ʔ/yVrp-* 'cloud, rain': Akk. *erpetu* 'cloud' (CAD E 302), Ugr. *ʔrpt* 'nube' (DLU 90), Hbr. *ʔrp* 'to drip' (HAL 887), Arb. *yarrāf-* 'abondant, copieux (se dit d'un torrent de pluie)', cf. *yurfat-* 'ciel, septieme ciel' (BK 2 458-9). [] Sem. **gVdVl-* '(to be) big': Ugr. *gdl* 'ancho, amplio; bien crecido, grande (?)' (DLU 144), Hbr. *gdl* 'to grow (up), become strong, be great' (HAL 179), Arb. *ḵdl* 'grandir, grossir' (BK 1 265), etc. < Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. **digal-* (met.?): Kilba *dūgōlū* (Kr II 95), Wamdiu *digālu* (*ibid.* 115), Margi *digāl* (*ibid.* 124) 'large' vs. Afras. **gVd(d)-* (v. above in **-Vr** Varia). < Afras. **(ʔa-)dang^(w)al-* 'corn; beans': Sem. Tgr. *ʔädāngäl* 'bean(s)' (LH 384; < C. Cush. Bilin? Cf., however, Tgr. *ʔädāggāla*, *dāggāla* poet., Tna. *dāggāla* 'a sort of corn growing wild; Eleusine aegyptiaca' LH 385; cf. also Har. *dāngulle* 'pea' LH 1963 57 < Oromo), Gez. *dālg^wəmmā* 'porridge', Amh. *dālg^wām* 'a variety of sorghum' (LGz 131; < **dalg^w-am-* with metathesis), W. Chad. Karekare *dəgwəlo* 'gruel' (Kr I 62), C. Chad. Mada *édīngel* 'tige de mil (dont on a coupé l'épi)' (BB 93), E. Chad. Migama

dáǵaláawé 'noix de palmeir doum' (Jung Mig 76; metathetic <*dagwal-), C. Cush. Bilin *adängwal* 'Bohne' (RBil 15), E. Cush. Oromo *dāngulle* 'bean' (LGur 17) vs. Afras. **da/ing^w*- 'kind of beans; corn' (v. above in **-Vr** Varia). < Afras. **gambVI*- 'black': E. Chad. Mokilko *gāmmīlí*, *gāmḥīlí* (Jung Mkk 99), E. Cush. Bayso *ka-gamballi* (Hay Bai 120) vs. E. Cush. **gumb*- id.: Gawwata *kummay* (AMS 266), Tsamai *gumma* (SLLE 4), Yaaku *-kumpu?* (Hei Ya 121).

-Vb

Animal names:

[] Jud. *ʔaršubyā* 'a species of locusts' vs. ***ʔVr̥s̥**- 'kind of insect': Arb. *ʔird-* 'nuée de sauterelles', Tgr. *ʔaršat*, *ʔaršātit* 'termites' (SED II No. 38). [] Jud. *karzəbā*, *karzubbā* 'a species of locusts' vs. *kərazā* 'name of two species of winged locusts', Gez. *kʷarāzi* 'ant' (<***kʷaraz-** // ***karaz-** 'kind of insect' SED II No. 119). [] Jud. *ʔakšəbōnītā* 'name of a disease, prob. wound from a spider's bite' (cf. also Hbr. *ʔakšūb* 'horned viper (or adder)' and Dem. *ʔkšb* 'viper') vs. Arb. *ʔukkāš-* 'araignée; toile d'araignée' (v. in SED II No. 33). [] Tgr. *sosānab* 'a kind of ants whose bite is very painful' (LH 180; less likely < **sos* + **nab*) vs. Tgr. *šašənte* 'ants' (ibid. 214), Tna. *šišo* 'ant or termite colony; large black ant which can give a painful bite' (K Tna 831), v. in ***sāūs-** 'moth' (SED II 198). [] Tna. *kʷərʔob*, *kʷärʔob* (and *ʔənəkʷərʔob*, *ʔənəkʷərʔob*) vs. *kʷərʔo*, *kur-ʔo*, *kʷärʔo* in ***kʷr(V)r-** 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in **ʔV-** Animal names). [] Sem. ***taʔlab-** 'fox': Akk. *šēlebu*, Arb. *taʔlab-* (pl. *taʔālīⁿ*), very likely < Afras. ***čVʔIVb-**: C. Chad. Musgu *čičēlebe* 'jackal', E. Chad. Mokilko *sullībē* 'kind of wolf' vs. Sem. ***tVʔl-** 'fox': Hbr. *šūʔāl*, Syr. *taʔlā*, Arb. *tuʔāl-*, Mhr. *yəṭáył*, etc. (SED II No. 237). [] Sem. ***ʔankab(īt)**- 'spider': Hbr. *ʔakkābīš*, Jud. *ʔakkōbītā* vs. Arb. *ʔankab-*, Jib. *ʔənsyēt* (pl. *ʔonókub*) id. vs. Eth. **ʔa(n)k-*: Tgr. *ʔako* 'spider', Tna. *ʔəkkʷät*, *ʔəkkot* 'a kind of very poisonous wasp', Gez. *ʔakot* (*ʔakot*) 'small locust, dog-fly, wasp', Amh. *anko* 'young locust' (SED II No. 33). [] Sem. ***gʷa(n)dab-** // ***ga(n)dab-** 'cricket, locust': Arb. *žandab-*, *žundub-* 'espèce de sauterelle', Tna. *gʷädäbä* 'a kind of harmless grasshopper' vs. Arb. *žudžud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle', Arb. *žandaʔ-*, *žunduʔ-* 'espèce de sauterelle noire, à deux antennes; en gén. insectes qu'on rencontre en creusant la terre', Amh. *gʷande* 'very small red ant which eats grain', Wol. Gog. *gʷändä*, etc. 'kind of ant', Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gʷəndan* 'a kind of black ant which inflicts a painful bite' (< **gudgud-*, **gandaʔ-* and **gundan-* to be eventually reduced to a common protoform **gV(n)d-* with different extensions; v. SED II No. 80). [] Sem. ***ʔyārib-** ~ ***ʔyūāb-** 'crow, raven': Hbr. *ʔörēb*, Arb. *yurāb-*, Jib. *ʔayərēb*, etc. (perhaps < Afras.: E. Cush. Burji *gurruba*, Dullay **k/kurrub-* 'crow') vs. Afras. **ʔwar-* 'raven, crow': Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *a-yrut* 'corbeau', W. Chad. Sura *gooroo*, E. Chad. Ndam *ʔagrà* 'crow', S. Cush. Iraqw *ḥwaʔari*, Burunge *ḥwanḥwarariya*, Alagwa *ḥoḥoraʔi*, Maʔa *ihurēʔi*, *ihurēʔa* 'crow' (SED II No. 89). [] Sem. ***kalb-** 'dog': Akk. *kalbu*, Hbr. *kālāb*, Arb. *kalb-*, etc. vs. Afras. **kʷVI-* 'wolf, dog': Brb. Ayr *ā-kūlen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Gudu *kūləm* 'hyena', Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kələ*, Buduma *keli* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kūlkò* 'cynhyène', Cush. **ta-kʷVI-* 'wolf': N. Cush. Beja *tákʷla*, C. Cush. Bilin *tägʷla*, *təyʷla*, Qwara *taḥʷəla*, Kemant *takwila*, E. Cush. Saho *takla*, *taḥla*, etc. (SED II No. 115). [] Sem. ***ʔaʔibay-** 'locust': Akk. *arabū*, Hbr. *ʔarbā*, Soq. *ʔerḥīyoh*, etc. (< Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. Mbara *ʔārbātētə* 'cricket' SED II No. 11) vs. S. Cush. **ʔuurú* 'locust (sp.)':

Alagwa *ʔuuru*, Burunge *ʔuuri* (KM 310), (?) Maʔa *íʔe* 'locust' (compared with Burunge *uri* 'grasshopper' in HRSC 295). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *dánnaba* 'female elephant' (EEN 28), *dánnabe* (Tos Dah 132) 'elephant' < **ǰannab-* vs. Afras. **ǰa(Hw)n-* id.: E. Cush. Sidamo *dāni-ččo*, Hadiya *dānē-ččo*, Qabenna *zānō*, Kambatta *zanō*, etc. (LSid 400), C. Cush. Bilin *ǰānā*, Khamir *zohón*, etc. (Bla Eleph 199), W. Chad. Ngizim *ǰaunak*, C. Chad. Tera *ǰuʔwān* (CLR 124), Fali-Jilvu *ǰuʔwuni*, E. Chad. Nanchere *ǰenaʔ*, Kabalai *ǰuno*, etc. (Bla Eleph 200). <> N. Omot. Sheko *gorǰube* 'lizard' (cf. also E. Chad. Dangla *ǰirzibó* 'varan') vs. *gorǰu* 'gecko' (v. in SED II 182).

Anatomy:

[] Afras. **garab-* 'stomach, belly': Sem. Arb. *ǰurǰub-*, *ǰurǰubān-* 'ventre', Sab. *grb*, Tgr. *ǰärob* 'body', W. Chad. Miya *garabu* 'chest', E. Chad. Tumak *būrōōg* 'stomach' (met.), C. Chad. Mandara *broguē* 'intestines' (met.), E. Cush. Saho Afar *garbā* 'Bauch, Magen, Eingeweide, Herz', Oromo *ǰäräba* 'big stomach of ruminants', N. Omot. Janjero *garba* 'belly' (Bnd Om 159), etc. (v. in **gVrVb-* SED II No. 90) vs. Afras. **gVraʔ-* 'stomach, belly': Arb. *ǰirriʔat-*, *ǰirriyyat-* 'gésier (chez certains oiseaux), estomac (d'oiseau)' (BK 1 272), Brb. Siwa *ǰar* 'ventre' (Lao 309), E. Chad. Migama *ǰūr-mūǰū* 'estomag' (Jung Mig 89), C. Chad. Gudu *ǰurā-cu* 'heart' (Kr III 76), N. Cush. Beja *gari* 'body, trunk' (Roper 186), C. Cush. Bilin *ǰir*, *ǰir*, Qwara *ǰir* 'Darm, Eingeweide' (RBil 158), E. Cush. Oromo *garaa* 'stomach, heart, mind' (Gr 167), Arbore *ǰeréʔ* 'belly, abdomen' (Hay Arb 360), Dasenech *geer-e* 'stomach, belly, womb, interior' (Tos Das 499), S. Cush. Iraqw Gorowa *guraʔ*, Alagwa Burunge *guraʔa* 'belly' (KM 122). [] Sem. **kʷirb-at-* 'skin, leather bag': Arb. *ǰirbat-* 'grande outre à lait ou à eau faite d'une seule peau' (BK 2 704), Gez. *kʷər̥bābit* 'leather bag' (LGz 440), Tna. *ǰorbāt* 'skin, hide, bark, rind, peel' (K Tna 941), Amh. *ǰorbāt* 'peau, cuir' (Baet 379), probably < Afras. **kʷi/arab-* 'bark, skin': N. Omot. Male *ǰurubi* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67) and perhaps E. Chad. forms (v. in the following entry) vs. Afras. **kʷar-* 'bark, shell': W. Chad. Hausa *ǰwaryā* 'shell of a tortoise' (Barg 692), N. Omot. Oyda *ǰuuro*, Basketo *ǰura*, Male *ǰuru* (Bnd Om 54), Shinasha *ǰōōǰirā* (ibid. 158) 'bark'. <> Cush. **kurb-* 'skin, bark': N. Cush. Beja *kūrbe* 'Haut' (RBeǰ 145), C. Cush. Khamta *kerbir* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67), Qwara *kōrbē* 'Haut, Leder' (RQua 86) < Afras. if E. Chad. forms (Kwan *kābārōw*, Sumrai *kābərāw* 'bark' CLR 9) are metathetic < **kVrbVw-* (otherwise < **kVrbaw-*, related to the previous entry) vs. Afras. **kur-* (note variant roots with *h* in Sayanchi, Yaaku and S. Cush., hardly a chance coincidence) id.: W. Chad. Paʔa *kurri*, Kiir *kwār*, Buli *kuur* 'skin' (CLR 296), Geji *kūr*, Barawa *kūru*, *kwor*, Sayanchi *kūrahi* 'bark' (?), E. Chad. Dangla *kōr-ke* (?), Birgit *kūrōro* 'egg-shell' (?), E. Cush. Yaaku *hreke* 'skin' (Hei Ya 133), S. Cush. Iraqw *kaahari* 'skin', Alagwa *kaari*, *kahari* 'skin, hide', Burunge *kaariya* 'sheep's hide' (KM 169-70; in spite of Gorowa *kaahari* 'dried cow hide', hardly < **kahar* 'dry' < **kah* 'to be dry' ibid. 169, as the meaning 'dried' about hide is not confirmed by other languages except Gorowa where this meaning is likely due to contamination with *kaahaar* 'dry'). <> Afras. **gʷaǰab-* 'stomach, internal organ': Sem. Arb. *ǰidāb-* 'moelle du palmier' (BK 1 268, metathetic with a meaning shift?), W. Chad. Hausa *ǰāǰčbā* (also *ǰidibī*) 'kidneys' (Barg 347), (?) C. Chad. Gidar *ǰədəf* 'belly' (CLR 21; *-*b* devoiced into -*f* in Auslaut?), E. Cush. Hadiya *ǰódabo*, Sidamo *ǰodobā*, Kambatta *gʷodeeba*, etc. 'belly' (HEC 26) vs. Afras. **gʷaǰ-* 'stomach, intestines': Brb. *-*gazaw-* (Ghat *te-ǰahu-t* 'estomag, ventre', Ahaggar *tā-gəhu-t* 'panse, intérieur

du ventre', E. Tawllemmet *te-gǎǎw-t* panse des ruminants' DRB 927), W. Chad. Hausa *gúǝǝyá* 'an internal organ in a bird' (Barg 405), E. Chad. Ndam *gūǝ*, Kera *gǝidə* 'belly' (CLR 21), C. Cush. **g^waz(g^waz)*- 'stomach' (Bilin *g^wǎdǎg^w*, Khamir *gǎzu*, Kemant *g^wǎzg^wǎ*, Aungi *g^wǎzǎg* (Appl IC 46), E. Cush. Afar *gǝdē* 'Mitte, Inneres, Bauch, Leib' (RAf 848). < Cushomot. **ǝ/ǝir(n)ab-* ~ **ǝ/ǝi(n)rab-* 'tongue' (note *-b* in pl. Dasenech and Yaaku which is hardly a chance coincidence): E. Cush. Saho *anrǎb*, Afar *arrabǎ* (RSa 40), Dasenech pl. *ǝerb-u* (Tos Das 480), Somali *ǝarrab*, Rendille *ǝarrab*, Boni *arub*, Oromo *arraba*, Elmolo *ǝerreb*, Sidamo Darasa *arraba*, Hadiya *allaabo*, Burji *arraba*, Gawwata *arrap-ko*, Yaaku pl. *ǝrepa* (PEC 23), N. Omot. Dizi *ǝerib* (Bnd Om 218) 'tongue' vs. Afras. **ǝ/ǝir(n)ay-* or ~ **ǝ/ǝV(r)n-* id.: W. Chad. (?) Hausa *yǎré* 'any language which one does not understand' (Barg 1109), C. Chad. Higi-Nkafa *anǝ*, Mofu *ǝǎné*, Gisiga *ǝirne*, Mandara *aara*, *nǎrà* (met.) 'tongue' (CLR 328-9), E. Cush. Somali *ǝray* 'word' (Abr Som 74), Dasenech *ǝere* (Tos Das 481), Yaaku *ǝre* (PEC 480), S. Cush. Dahalo *ǝéena* (EEN 13), N. Omot. Malo *ǝirin-c* (Bnd Om 25), Doko *eren-ǝā* (ibid. 63), Anfillo *erii-co*, *ǝere-ǝō* (ibid. 176), Koyra -*ǝe/or-* (ibid. 96), etc. 'tongue'. < C. Cush. Bilin *girib*, Khamir Qwara Aungi *girb* 'Knie und Ellbogen' (RKham 361), E. Cush. Rendille *ǝǎrab* 'shoulder' (PG 387; < Cushomotic? Cf. N. Omot. Shinasha *gubrǎ* id. Lmb Sh 306, with metathesis?) vs. C. Cush. Khamir *giyúr*, Waag *gerím* (?) id. < Afras. **(ǝi-n)gur(gur)-* 'knee, foot': Sem. **ǝi(n)gi/ur-* 'foot' (Syr. Arb. *ǝiǝer*, Dat. Arb. *ǝiǝr*, Gez. *ǝǎgr*, Har. *igir*, *ingir*, etc. SED II No. 7), W. Chad. Warji *ǝǎǎrái*, C. Chad. Zime-Dari *gore*, E. Chad. Lele *ǝǎrmǎ* 'foot' (CLR 220-21), Kera *ǝǎǎǎr* 'knee' (ibid. 215), S. Cush Iraqw *gurungura*, Gorowa *gurungura*?, Alagwa *gurunguuda*, Burunge *guruguunda* (KM 122-3), N. Omot. Mocha *gurǎto*, She *gurǎt* 'knee' (Bnd Om 168). < Afras. **g^wil(V)b-* 'knee': E. Chad. Sokoro *bǎgolǎ* 'ankle' (Luk ZS 45; met.), C. Cush. Dembea *ǝǎlbē* (RBil 159; or < **girb-*? See previous entry), E. Cush. Saho Afar *ǝǎlbē*, Somali *ǝilib*, Oromo *ǝilba* (ibid.), Konso *hilpa*, *kilpa*, Bayso *gilib*, Burji *gilba*, Hadiya *gurubbo* (< **gulubb-*), Sidamo *gulube*, Gawwata *kilpay-(ho)*, Tsamai *gilib-ko* (PEC 18), Dahalo (pl.) *ǝillibe* (Tos Dah 134), N. Omot. Wolamo *gulba-ta*, Kullo Gofa Gamu Zergulla *gulbata* (Bnd Om 19; according to Bender, all Omot. forms are from Amh. *gulbǎt*, which is unlikely in view of their widest attestation in Cush. and Omot. and lack of Sem. etymology for the Amh. term, evidently borrowed from Cush.), Kafa *gilbǎto* (ibid. 58), S. Omot. Ari *gulbē* (ibid. 212), Ongota *gibila*, *giliba* (Fl Ong 51) vs. Afras. **g^wil-* 'knee': W. Chad. Hausa *ǝwǎ-wǎ*, pl. *ǝwǎyǎ* 'knee' (Abr Hs 355; most likely < **ǝwǎl-*), C. Chad. Mofu *ǝǎlaw* 'hanche' (Bar 118), E. Cush. Dasenech *ǝil* 'hand' (Tos Das 500), S. Cush. Qwadza *guhulu-ko* 'ankle', Asa *ǝuluct*, Dahalo *ǝilli* 'knee' (Tos Dah 134). < S. Omot. Hamar *ǝǎǎǎǎǎ*, *ǝǎǎǎǎ* 'liver' (Bnd Om 213; the labial consonant is treated by Bender as a suffix which needs proof) vs. Ari *turi* (according to Bender, "a universal loan < Oromo *tiruu*", which is questionable in view of a wide spread of the corresponding forms in Omot.), N. Omot. Malo Gerese *tire*, Dorze *tiré*, Kullo *tiriya*, etc. 'liver' (ibid. 20; cf. Malo *tira*, Kullo Dorze *tira* etc. 'chest' ibid. 13) < Afras. **tirw-* 'liver': W. Chad. Polchi *wǎtǎǎǎ* 'liver' (met.), C. Chad. Mada *totrom* 'reins' (BB 254), E. Cush. Saho *tiraw*, Afar *tiroo*, Somali *traw*, Oromo *tiru*, Konso *tirǎ*, Hadiya *tiroo*, Gawwata *tire*, etc. 'liver' (Dolg 1973 203), S. Cush. Maʔa *tirao* 'liver' (HRSC 387).

Varia:

[] Soq. *ḍuṣob* 'mordre' (LS 363) vs. Arb. *ḍyḍy* 'mâcher, broyer avec les mâchoires' (BK 2 29), *ḍym* 'mordre, saisir avec la bouche' (ibid.), *ḍyt* 'mâcher, broyer légèrement avec les dents' (ibid. 28). [] Eth. **g^wdb* 'to cut' (LGz 181; otherwise to be treated as a variant root of **gdm*, v. *ibid.*): Gez. *g^wadaba* 'to cut with an axe, dig a ditch', *g^wadb*, Tgr. *gədəb* 'axe', Tna *gädäbä* 'to cut', Amh. *g^waddäbä* 'to dig, cut' vs. Sem. **gdd* 'to cut' (v. in LGz 180): Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ḡdd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180). [] Sem. **krb* 'to plait, braid, tie up': Arb. *krb* 'tordre, tresser (une corde)' (BK 2 880), Gez. *karabo* 'woven basket; pouch', Tgr. *kārba* 'to tie up', Amh. *kāräbo* 'basket' (LGz 290) vs. **krr/y* id.: Hbr. *kry* 'to bind together' (HAL 497; Arb. *kwr* 'to wind a turban' compared ibid. is rather from Afras. **kwr* 'to be round'), Arb. *karr-* 'corde tressée de feuilles ou de fibres de palmier' (BK 2 879), Tna. *kärärä* 'to be twisted (thread), to be made (rope) by twisting' (K Tna 1591). <> Afras. **darb-/*bVrid-*: Sem. Jud. *darbān* 'Pforte, weiter Eingang' (Dolg 1973 50 after Levy), Syr. *darb-* 'via' (Brock 165: "ex Arb. *darb-*"), Arb. *darb-* 'porte; défilé, rue, chemin', Anc. Yemen 'muraille', Dat. *darraba* 'entourer d'un mur' (DRS 307), Mhr. *darb* 'village street; yard' (JM 73), Jib. *derb* 'village street; unroofed enclosure, yard' (JJ 40; both MSA forms look as Arabisms, note, however, partial differences in meaning), Brb. Ayr *ābarid*, Ghadames Qabyle *abrid*, etc. 'chemin, route' (DRB 100), N. Cush. Beja *derēb*, C. Cush. Bilin *därəb*, pl. *därfif* 'way, road', E. Cush. Saho *darib* 'way, trace' (Dolg 1973 50; according to Dolgopolsky, all < Cush. **dVrVP-*; the three forms, however, look as Arabisms), Oromo *darabaa* 'place for keeping cows in common; place where common activity is done' (Gr 99; semantic evolution of the borrowed Arb. 'street?') vs. Afras. **dar-*: Sem. Arb. *darar-* 'tracé; ligne d'une route, surtout droite; côté (d'une maison qui nous fait face)' (BK 1 682), Mhr. *šəḍēri* 'to go by a good route' (< Arb.?), *šə-drō*, Jib. *šə-drē* 'to get to the top' (JM 74), W. Chad. Jimbin *dāru*, Mburku *dēri*, Miya *darhi*, Kariya *derahi* 'road, path, way' (Sk NB 37), Gerka *der* (Fitz 219), Karekare *n-darū* (Luk Kr 200) 'road', Buli *derlū* 'to go' (CLR 162) E. Cush. Yaaku *daar* 'road' (Hei Ya 132).

-Vk

Animal names:

<> W. Chad. Ngizim *ḡaunāk* 'elephant' (CLR 124) vs. Afras. **ḡa(Hw)n-* id. (v. in -**Vb** Animal names). <> E. Cush. Saho Afar *lubāk* 'lion' vs. Sem. **labV?* 'lion(ess)': Akk. *labbu* (*lab?u*, etc.) 'lion', Arb. *labu?at-*, *labwat-* 'lionne', etc. (SED II No. 144).

Anatomy:

[] Sem. **bi/ark-* 'knee': Akk. *birku*, Hbr. *bārāk*, etc. (SED I No. 39; < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Mburku *vərka cəma* 'foot' (CLR 220; *vərka* < **bVrk-*? Cf. Siri *cūma* 'leg' ibid.), C. Chad. Mofu *pāpərakw* 'patte' (Bar 219), Gisiga *poporok* 'knee' (CLR 215; < **babarak?*), E. Cush. Yaaku *loipuruḡuḡi* (Hei Ya 128; composed of *loi-porokuḡi* < **-porokuki* < **borok-*?) vs. **(?i-)bar-(at-)* '(bone of) leg, thigh, arm' (cf. SED I No. 3; v. in **?V-** Anatomy) < Afras. **bar(bar)-* '(bone of) leg, thigh, knee': W. Chad. Ngamo *buru* (Meek 37), Dera *bó-bərəm*, Karekare *bērāsù* (CLR 214),

Galambu *búbur* (Sch BT 82), C. Chad. Bachama *m̀bwàrà* 'leg' (CLR 221), Garwa *baare* 'shin' (Bla SED 499), Paduko *b́arna* 'knee' (CLR 215), Gude *búurá* 'elbow' (Hos 164), Zime-Batna *hūru* 'marcher sur les genoux' (Cooper 3), E. Chad. Mokilko *ʔobbíra* 's'agenouiller' (Jung Mkk 151), E. Cush.: Rendille *barbar* 'shoulder' (PG 387), N. Omot. Kafa *borborō* 'coscia' (Cer Caf 415), S. Omot. Ubamer *barr* 'thigh' (Bla SED 499). [] Sem. ***warik(-at)-** 'hip(-bone)': Hbr. *yārēk*, Arb. *wark-*, *wirk-*, etc. (SED I No. 288) vs. Afras. **war-* 'thigh(-bone), leg': Arb. *warr-* 'os de la hanche' (BK 2 1516), Eyp. MK *wʔr-t* 'Bein' (EG I 287), W. Chad. Mburku *wīrin*, Miya Kariya *wurum* 'knee' (Sk NB 28; unless < **bVr-*, v. above), C. Chad. Musgu *werē* 'Knie' (Luk Msg 81), S. Cush. Iraqw *uryee* 'backside of upper side of leg, thigh' (MQK 113), Burunge *ʔuuriyoo* 'hips', etc. (KM 310). < W. Chad. Chip *fə̀lɔ̀k* 'liver' (Kr I 39), Sura *fə̀lɔ̀k* (Jung Sura 213), Mupun *fłòk*, *fùlfúk* (Fr Mup 87) 'lungs' vs. Ankwe *fə̀lɔ̀* 'liver' (Kr I 51) *fíílí* 'lungs' (ibid.), C. Chad. Bachama *fàfulàwey* 'lungs' (Kr III 66) < Afras. (*ʔ/ʔa-*)*fāl-* 'liver, lungs, stomach': Sem. Soq. *ʔefelóti* (dual) 'estomac' (LS 319), E. Cush. Sidamo *affale*, Burji *affala*, Kambatta *afali-ta*, Hadiya *afāre* (< **Hafal-*) 'liver' (HEC 93). < W. Chad. **ti/uk-* 'belly': Hausa *číkí* < **tik-*, Kiir *túk*, Geji *túki*, Tule *túkò* (CLR 20) vs. Chad. **tu/a-* id.: Daffa-Butura *tuh* (unless < **tuk-*), pl. *tútuwái*, Wangdai Zaar *tuù*, C. Chad. Kilba *ta* 'belly' (ibid.). < Chad. **bVk-* 'mouth': W. Chad. Hausa *bākí*, Dera *bwóók*, E. Chad. Dangla *hiykíko* (CLR 244-5) vs. **biw/y-* id.: Dera *bwó*, Karekare *bòò*, Jimi *bi*, Tule *biyi*, etc., E. Chad. Sumrai *bi*, Migama *bí*, Jegu *bětó*, C. Chad. Nzangi *bōá* (ibid.). < C. Cush. Bilin *lābākā*, Dembea Qwara *lābakā* 'Herz' (RBil 251) vs. Afras. **IVb-* 'heart' (v. in Bla SED 503-4) where all the comparisons are convincing except Brb. **luHi*, which, together with S. Omot. Hamar *wōyləm* and probably Ongota *ləəta* 'heart' go back to Afras. **wVli(m)-*: Sem. Akk. *libbu*, Arb. *lubb-*, etc. (SED II No. 174), Eyp. Pyr. *ib* (EG I 59), N. Cush. Beja *lew* 'pylorus' (Roper 213), E. Cush. (perhaps < Eth.) Afar *lubbi* (PH 156), Oromo *lubbuu* 'soul, spirit' (Gr 267), etc. < C. Cush. Bilin *nabakā* 'Mitte' (RBil 280) vs. Qwara *nabeow* 'middle (adj.)', *nabea* 'centre' (RQua 104; according to Reinisch, < *nābē* 'spalten' which seems to me less probable), Dembea *nabēā* 'middle (adj.)' (ibid.), likely < Afras. **nVb-* 'heart' (a variant root of **IVb-*?): C. Chad. Daba *nūv* 'heart' (Kr III 156; cf. *lībi* 'stomach' ibid.), N. Omot. Shinasha *nibba*, Sheko Kafa *nibbo*, Janjero *niba* 'Herz' (Lmb Sh 367). < N. Omot. **ʔačk-* 'meat' (Bender separates *-k* as if it were a productive suffix which needs proof): Male *aski* (Bnd Om 59), Dizi *ačku*, *ašku* (ibid. 213), Mao (Sezo) *ɔške* (ibid. 276) vs. **ʔač-* id.: Gofa *ašo*, Chara *ačča*, Koyra *ʔáččo*, Gimirra *ač*, Mao (Sezo) *ɔssi*, *ʔɔs* (ibid. 20, 59, 90, 169, 276), S. Omot. Ongota *čata* (< **ča-t-*?) 'meat' < Afras. **čaʔw-* ~ **ʔačw-* 'small cattle; meat' (v. ***taʔ(w/y)-at-** 'ewe' SED II No. 236): Sem. ***taʔ(w/y)-at-** 'ewe' (Ugr. *tʔat*, Arb. *taʔwat-*, etc.), W. Chad. Kirfi *wüči* 'sheep', E. Chad. Kwang *čúwī* 'goat', E. Cush. Somali *soʔ*, Oromo *foo-ni* (Oromo *f-* implies **č-*), Bussa *soʔ-o*, Dasenech *so*, Gidole *soʔ-ha* 'meat' (PEC 50). < Afras. **hark-* 'limb, arm': Sem. Arb. *harkakat-* 'haut de la hanche' (BK 1 413; cf. Jib. *harkún* 'lame, broken-legged' JJ 115), W. Chad. Dera *árək* 'hand' (CLR 178), N. Cush. Beja *harka*, *hérka* 'Arm, Oberarm, Schulter, Achsel' (RBeđ 126), E. Cush. Oromo *harka* 'hand' (Gr 202), Konso *harka* id. (Black 297), Gawwata *harkó*, Tsamai *harko* 'hand' (SLLE 7), S. Cush. Maʔa *iharega* 'arm' (HRSC 387) vs. Afras. **har-* 'arm, hand': C. Chad. **Har-* 'arm, hand': Tera *har*, Ngweshe *hára*, Mofu *hár* 'hand' (CLR 178-9), etc., E. Cush. Saho *hará* 'Hand, Arm' (RSa 190), Oromo

hirree, *irree* 'arm' (Gr 227), N. Omot. Anfillo *hiro* 'fathom' (?).

Varia:

[] End. *masakkä* 'night' (LGur 427: "one recognizes the element *massa* for 'evening, night' but the ending *-kkä* is enigmatic") vs. Cha. Gye. *mäšä*, Eža *mäššä*, etc. 'to be evening' < Sem. **(?a-)mVš-* 'evening, night' v. in *-Vr* Varia). [] Sem. Hbr. *däräk*, Pho. *drk* 'way, road' (HAL 231), Mnd. *dirka* id. (DM 109), etc. vs. Afras. **dVr-* 'road' (v. in *-Vb* Varia). < Brb. Siwa *t-fük-t*, Senhaja *ta-fuk-t*, Ahaggar *tā-fuk*, Zenaga *tu-fuk-t* 'soleil' (DRB 547-8) vs. Ghadames *t-ūfə-t* 'soleil, éclat du soleil, lumière solaire' (Lan 86), Ahaggar *tā-ffaw-t* 'clarté crépusculaire', *ufu*, *ifaw* 'commencer à faire clair (jour) pour', Ayr *ifu* 'faire jour pour', Iznasen *t-faw-t* 'lumière (d'une lampe, du soleil)', etc. (DRB 675-7) < Afras. **yafaw-* 'sunlight: W. Chad. Warji *fēi*, Kariya *áfai*, Ngizim *afā*, E. Chad. Sokoro *píyò*, *fūyo*, etc. 'sun' (CLR 312-3), E. Cush. Saho *īfə*, Somali *if*, Oromo *ifā* 'light' (Dolg 1973 232). < Afras. **pVrVk-* 'bark, shell': (?) Sem. Arb. *fārik-* 'qui a l'écorce cassée', *frk* 'écraser quelque chose entre deux doigts' (BK 2 586), Brb. Ahaggar *tā-fərk-it* 'morceau d'écorce d'arbre sèche', Ntifa *ti-ferk-it* 'écorce d'un arbre; peau d'un animal', Zenaga **SIC** *ta-ferki* 'écorce', etc. (DRB 626), E. Chad. Kera *fēkré* (met.) 'hard shell (of a nut)', Mokilko *pākīr-tē*, Sokoro *furkiā* 'bark' (CLR 9) vs. Sem. **par(t/w)-* 'skin, shell, husk' (SED I No. 217) < Afras. **pVr-* 'bark, shell': Brb. Ghadames *ti-fra*, Sened *ti-fre-t* 'écorce' (DRB 607), W. Chad. Hausa *fiurūu*, *huurūu* 'skin of monkey nuts' (Barg 331, 470), Tangale *paara* 'skin or pod of the fruit of the locust tree' (Jung T 128), Diri *fufūr* 'bark' (CLR 8), E. Chad. Bidiya *pir* 'décortiquer l'arachide' (AJ 108).

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Instances of *r* in various positions in Semitic (and Afrasian?) roots presumably conveying a meaning of a "larger dimension/quantity":

1. A Semitic or Semito-Chadic triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger insect ('bee/wasp' or 'bee/wasp, locust') vs. Arb., Chad. and Omot. forms based on a biradical root without **-r* denoting a smaller insect ('small locust/ant, termite, fly'):

Sem. **di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp': Hbr. *dəbōrā* '(wild) honey-bee', Arb. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dib^wara* (in *dib^wara zəmb*) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., probably < Afras.: W. Chad. Ngamo *ndəbūrō* 'locust', C. Chad. Gude *dəvūrəṅā* 'sausage fly', (?) Fali-Bwagira *dəvūr-ṅən* 'termite; anthill' vs. Afras. **dVb-* 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb. *dabaⁿ* 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis', W. Chad. Dera *dībīn*, *dīwīn* 'fly', Jimbin *duba*, C. Chad. Lame *daḅ*, *dəḅai*, E. Chad. Mokilko *dībē* 'termite', Migama *dīibidīibī* 'termite ailé (grand, rouge)', Kera *ádəbdəbə* 'Tsetseflye', N. Omot. Hozo *dabbi* 'termite' (SED II No. 66).

2. A Semitic (MSA) or Semito-Berber triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger insect ('hornet') vs. MSA and various Afrasian forms based on a biradical root without **-r* denoting a smaller insect ('fly' etc.):

Sem. Hrs. *dēbēr*, Mhr. *dəbēr*, Jib. *ēdbir* 'hornet, fly' (prob. also Soq. *ēdbehir* 'abeille') and, probably, Brb. (if -z- is <*ž and not *ḡ) Ahaggar *āzənbîbər* 'esp. de de coléoptères' (4 cm long), Ayr E. Tawllemmet *əzəbbenbər* 'bubreste' < Afras. *ḡVbir- (v. in **dī/ab(b)ūr*- 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Mhr. *dəbbēt*, Hrs. *dəbbēt*, Jib. *dəbbōt*, Soq. *ʔedbīboh* 'fly' < Afras. *ḡib(a)b- 'kind of flying insect': Brb. Ghat *a-zəb(b)*, Ahaggar *a-həb*, Ayr *e-zəb*, *izbəb*, E. Wlm. *i-zəbb*, Taneslemt *i-zəbb*, *a-šəbb*, *a-šbəb* 'mouche plate', Izayan *izeb* 'mouche de cheval', W. Chad. Hausa *ḡīḡā* 'small anthill', Ngizim *ḡəboa* 'bee', C. Chad. Bura *ḡeba* 'locust in the hopper state', Fali-Gili *ḡibi*, Bata *ḡēbi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *ʔḡimbe* 'bee, honey', E. Cush. Tsamai *zubaʔee* 'ant' (in **dVb(V)b*- 'fly', No. 73).

3. A Semitic quadriradical root with -r as a fourth radical denoting a larger insect ('hornet, wasp') vs. an Eth. triradical root denoting a smaller insect ('fly') probably related to Arb. and C. Chad. forms based on a biradical root:

Jud. *zibbōrā* 'bee, wasp', *zybwry* 'hornet', Mnd. *zimbura* 'hornet, bee', *zambura* 'wasp, hornet', Arb. *zanbūr*-, *zinbār*- 'guêpe', Gez. *zanbir* 'hornet, wasp' vs. Gez. *zənb*, Tna. *zənbi*, Amh. *zəmb*, *zənb*, Arg. *zəmb*, Gaf. *zəmbä*, Har. *zəmbi*, Gur. (all dialects) *zəmb* 'fly', likely related to Arb. *zibb*- 'espèce de ver (fistularia vitata)', probably < Afras.: cf. C. Chad. Tera *zəḡā* 'termite' < **ḡaHb*- (v. in SED II No. 73).

4. A Semitic tri- or quadriradical root with -r as a last radical denoting measuring with a larger measure ('span') vs. an Akk. form based on a biradical root without *-r denoting a smaller measure ('one-third cubit'):

Sem. **š(x)nzr*- 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', **š(x)VnzVr*- (diff. in SED I No. 251): Hbr. *mošzār* 'twisted' (hop., part.), Mnd. *šanzeria* (pl.) 'the ropes', Arb. *šzr* 'retourner la main à droite en brandissant la lance; tordre, donner un tour de droite à gauche à la corde', Gez. *səz(ə)r* 'span', Tgr. *sənzər* 'palme', *sənzärä* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sənzärä* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Selti Wolane Zway *sənzər*, Chaha Ennemor Gyeto *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *šezər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *hāzer* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *šezr*, (C.) *šēzər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šēzir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizū* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD š3 152; AHW 1254).

Note that a cubit equals to 45 cm. and one-third cubit to 15 cm., while a span to 22,5 cm.)

5. A Semitic triradical root with -r as a third radical denoting a larger measure (span) vs. bi- (in Aram. and pB. Hbr.) or triradical (in Arb.) forms without *-r denoting what seems a smaller measure:

Sem. **SVt(V)r*- 'flat hand, span': Hbr. pB. *štr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *štr* (*aph*) 'to strike with the flat hand', Mhr. *šētər* 'measure, span between the end of the thumb and the forefinger' vs. **si(n)t*- 'palm, span' (cf. in SED I No. 236): Hbr. pB. **sīt* in *ha-ssīt* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger when held apart, or between the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' (cf. *sēt* 'handle; swinging the forefinger'), Syr. *sītā* 'palms', Arb. *sint*- 'poignet, os qui joint l'avant-bras à la main' (though Mhr. *š* points to **š* rather than to **s*, the coincidence in meaning with Hbr. **sīt* cannot be accidental); note the second meaning of the Hbr. term given by Jastrow: 'the distance...between

the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' which implies a shorter distance than that implied by the Mhr. term.

6. A Central Cushitic triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger creature ('boa snake') vs. Afrasian forms based on a biradical root without **-r* denoting a smaller creature ('kind of worm'):

C. Cush. Bilin *sabarā* (pl. *sāfal*) 'Schlangensorte, Art von Boa' (RBil. 294, Khamir *sibrā* (pl. *sibīr, sibīl*) id. (RCham. 405) vs. Sem. (?) Akk. *šibbu* 'a snake' MB on (CAD Š2 375, AHw. 1226; not fully reliable), Gyt. *sība* 'kind of worm' (LGur. 531, acc. to Leslau, from Oromo), Cha. Eža *šiba*, Enm. *šība*, Gyt. *šība*, End. *šīwā* 'kind of worm' (ibid. 571), Hrs. *šebšebēt* 'small red worm, centipede' (JH 123), Mhr. *šəbšīb*, E. Jib. *šəbšēb* 'red waterworm' (JM 392) < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *súbó* 'worm' (HSED No. 2227), E. Cush. Oromo *sībā* 'worm', Somali *sumbay* 'tapeworm' (Abr. Som. 228), v. in **šibb-* 'kind of snake, worm' (SED II No. 200).

7. An Ethiopian quadrilateral root with *-r-* as a second radical apparently denoting a larger output of substance ('squirt, spit') vs. a presumably common Semitic triliteral without **-r-* denoting a smaller output ('spit'):

Eth. **bršək* 'to spit out, vomit, squirt': Tgr. *bārčākā* 'to spit out, to squirt through the lips', Tna. *bərčəḳčəḳ bāl* 'to feel nauseous, want to vomit', Amh. *tān/mboraččākā* 'to spray, splatter (water being poured into a container)' vs. **bsk* 'to spit' (cf. SED I Vb. No. 7): Arb. *bšək* 'cracher', Selti *bəčəḳ bälā* 'to spit'.

8. An Aramaic quadriradical root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting a larger measure ('long/full cubit') vs. a Semitic triradical root without **-r-* probably denoting a smaller measure ('short cubit?'):

Aram. **garmīdā*: Jud. *garmīdā* 'arm, elbow, cubit', Syr. *ga/ūrmīdā, gūrmīdā* 'cubitus, ulna', Mnd. *garmidia* 'two cubits' vs. Hbr. *gōmād* 'a linear measure, short cubit', likely <**kVm(V)d-* 'forearm, cubit' (SED I No. 144): Akk. *gamatu* 'a measure' (<**gamattu* <**gamad-t-u* or <**gamadu* with *-ad-* mistaken for the *-at-* suffix), (?) Arb. *kumuddat-* 'verge, penis', Amh. *kənd* 'cubit (distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, appr. 48 cm.); arm, forearm', Gaf. *kəndā* 'bras', Mhr. *məkəndēt* 'big toe, thumb', Jib. *mišəndót* 'thumb, big toe'.

9. A Semitic quadriradical root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting a longer or larger object ('long, prominent nose, trunk') vs. a Semitic triliteral root without **-r-* denoting a smaller object ('nose'):

Sem. **ḥarṭūm-~*ḥurṭim-* 'long nose, beak, trunk, snout' (cf. diff. in SED I No. 137): Akk. *ḥurṭimmu* 'snout, muzzle' (-ṭṭ- < **-rt-*?), Hbr. pB. *ḥarṭōm* 'nose, beak', Syr. *ḥarṭūmā* 'proboscis (elephant)', Mnd. *ḥarṭum(a)* 'long bill, nose, snout, trunk', Arb. *ḥurṭum-, ḥurṭūm-* 'nez, bout du nez, tronc de l'éléphant, etc.' vs. **ḥuṭam-* 'nose, snout, muzzle, beak' (cf. diff. in SED I No. 139): Ugr. *ḥṭm* 'nariz', Hbr. pB. *ḥōṭām* 'the distinctive feature of the face, nose, nostril', Jud. *ḥuṭmā* id., Arb. *ḥaṭm-* 'bec, museau'.

10. A Semitic quadri- (with *-l* as the fourth radical) or triliteral root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting what seems a larger object ('ankle') vs. Semitic forms without **-r-* based on a biliteral stem denoting a smaller object ('joint'):

Sem. ***kVrs(-ull)** 'ankle' (cf. SED I No. 169): Hbr. **karsullayim* 'ankles' (dual), Jud. *karsullā*, *karsulā* 'ankles', Syr. *kurṣelā* 'talus; ala, axilla', Tgr. *karso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənḱərša* 'ankle', Gog. Sod. *ənḱərša*, Mhr. *ḱərṣāt* 'kneecap' (-ā- points either to *-aw or to *-al) vs. ***k(ʷ)Vrs-**, ***k(ʷ)Vss-** 'joint, point of connection between bones' (cf. SED I No. 172): (?) Akk. *kimṣu*, *kinṣu*, *kiṣṣu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg', Arb. *ḱaṣāṣ-*, *ḱuṣāṣ-*, *ḱiṣāṣ-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *ḱaṣṣ-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *ḱaṣṣ-*, *ḱuṣaṣ-* id. (cf. *ḱays-* 'verge, pénis', with a plausible meaning shift 'joint' > 'penis'), Gez. *kʷəyṣ*, *kʷəṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', (?) Amh. *ḱəṭay* 'joint of foot', Gyeto *ḱəṭəyā* 'joint of foot', Soq. *mīḱseh* 'articulation, falange'.

11. A Semitic triradical root with -r as a second radical denoting a larger object ('leg, shin') vs. bi- (in Aram. and pB. Hbr.) or triradical (in Arb.) forms without *-r denoting what seems a smaller measure ('joint, hoof'):

Sem. ***kʷiāʕ-** 'knee and shinbone; lower leg (of animal)' (SED I No. 157): Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)' (cf. *kirru*, *kerru* 'the region extending from the throat to and including the clavicles'), Hbr. *kərāʕayim* (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. *karʕā* 'knee, leg', Syr. *kərāʕā* 'crus', Mnd. *kraia* 'foot, leg', Arb. *kurāʕ-* 'partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou; os du tibia', Sab. *krʕ* 'leg of a camel', Gez. *kʷərnāʕ* 'elbow, forearm', Tna. *kʷərnaʕ* 'elbow', Amh. *kərn* 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. *kərra* 'arm, elbow', Har. *kuruʔ* 'cubit, arm', Selti *kəre*, Wolane *həri*, Zway *hərə* 'arm, cubit, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. *kərrā* id. vs. ***kʷaʕ(-at)** or ***kʷaʕ(-at)** 'joint; ankle; foot' (SED I No. 140): Syr. *kōʕā* 'articulus', Arb. *kāʕ-*, *kūʕ-* 'condyle, surtout os de la main qui touche au puce ou au doigt articulaire; os de la cheville du pied, extrémité de l'os *zind*', Amh. *kotte* 'foot, hoof (of a horse)', Sod. *kotte* 'hoof'.

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